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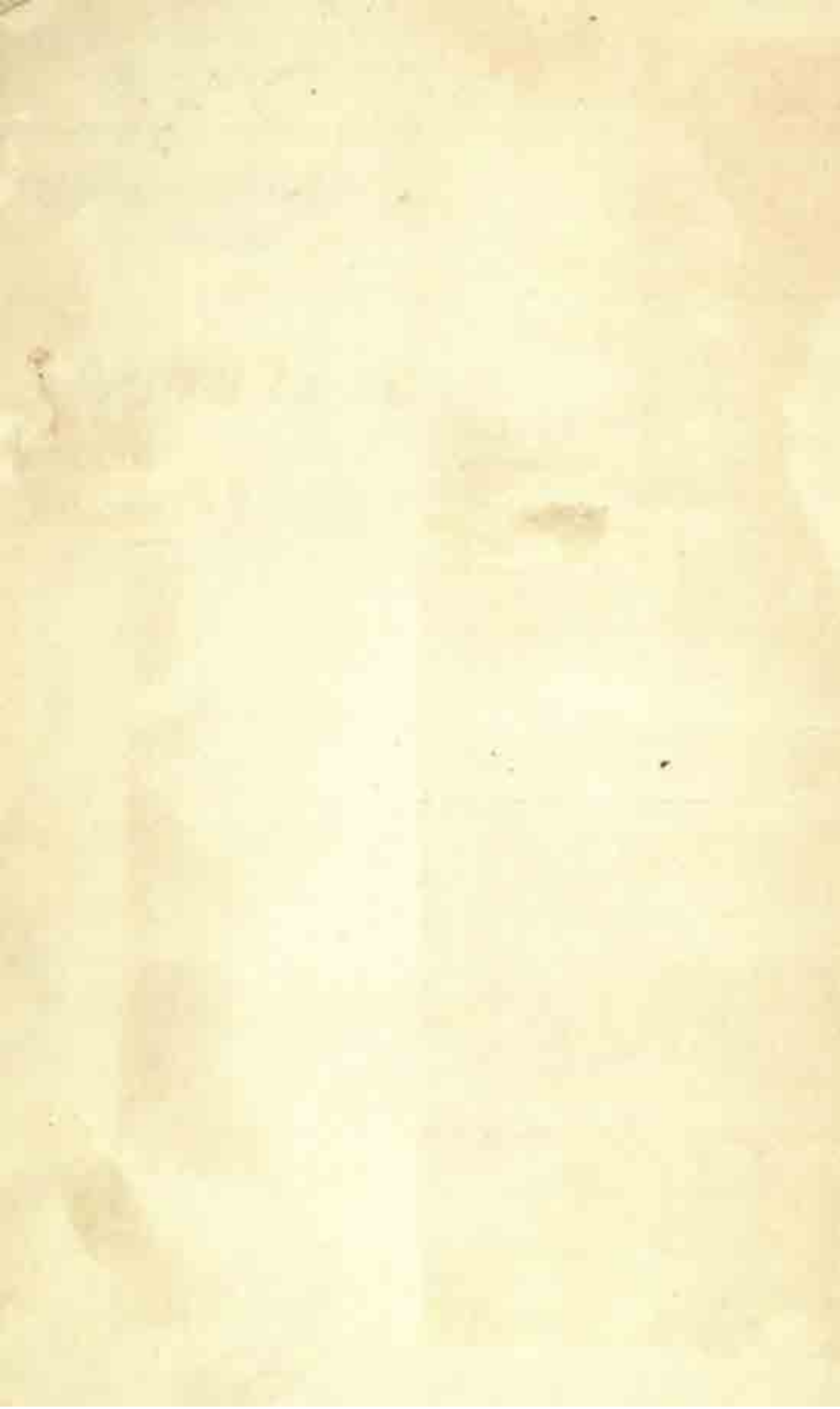
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PURANIC CHRONOLOGY

D. R. MANKAD

*Professor of Sanskrit and Gujarati
Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyalaya*

The position now is this — there is a strong presumption in favour of tradition ; if any one contests tradition, the burden lies on him to show that it is wrong ; and till he does that, tradition holds field.

AIHT—PARGITER

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To
The Eternal Spirit
of
SŪTA and MĀGADHA

APR 27 1932

पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।

अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः ॥ Vy 53, 3

पुराणमेकमेवासीत्तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ ।

त्रिवर्गसाधने पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥ 4

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

- ABORI. = Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute
 Ag. = Agnipurāṇa
 AIHT = Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter
 AMMK = Aryamanjusrimulakalpa
 B. = Bappabhaṭṭi
 Bd. = Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
 Ben Rāj. = Bengli Rājavalī
 Bg. = Bhāgavatapurāṇa
 Bh. = Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
 Bht. = Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa
 Bly. = Blind Yudhiṣṭhira
 Br. = Brahmapurāṇa
 Brd. = Brhaddharmapurāṇa
 Brv. = Brahmavaivartapurāṇa
 C. = Curtius
 CAL. = Chronology of Ancient India by S. N. Pradhan
 Ch. = Chandragupta I or II
 CHI. = Cambridge History of India
 CJ. = Cippaṭa Jayapiḍa
 D. = Diodorus
 DKA. = Dynasties of Kali Age by Pargiter
 GI-GII-GIII. = Gonanda I or II or III
 Gd. = Garudapurāṇa
 G. E. = Gupta Era
 HJK. = Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka
 Hr. = Harivams'a
 IHQ. = Indian Historical Quarterly
 JBORS. = Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
 K. E. = Kali Era
 Kl. = Kalhaṇa
 Km. = Kūrmapurāṇa
 KR. = Kaliyugarājavṛttānta
 Lg. = Līṅgapurāṇa
 Mbh. = Mahābhārata
 MCM. = Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method

M.E.	=	Mahāvira Era	
Mk.	=	Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa	
MMK.	=	Meñjusūrimūlakalpa, same as AMMK	
Mt.	=	Matsyapurāṇa	
Nar.	=	Narasinhapurāṇa	
Nd.	=	Nārada-purāṇa	
NIA.	=	New Indian Antiquary	
P.	=	Parikṣit	
Par.	=	Paṅgiter	
PHAL.	=	Political History of Ancient India by Raychaudhari	
PM.	=	Padmapurāṇa	
Raj.	=	Rājatarangīni by Kalhaṇa	
Rgh.	=	Raghuvamśa	
Rv.	=	R̥gveda	
S.	=	Saptar̥ṣi	
SBE.	=	Sacred Books of the East	
S. E.	=	Saptar̥ṣi Era	
Sk. Raj.	=	Sanskrit Rājāvali	
Sp.	=	Satyārthaprakāśa	
Sr.	=	Saurapurāṇa	
Sv.	=	Sivapurāṇa	
Vn.	=	Viṣṇupurāṇa	
Y.	=	Yudhiṣṭhira	
Y. E.	=	Yudhiṣṭhira Era	

CONTENTS

PART ONE

Ch. One.	Introductory	1
Ch. Two.	Manvantara-Caturyuga Method	16
	-The theory-	
Ch. Three.	Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (its application-Pre-Kali chronology)	42
Ch. Four.	Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (its application-Kali chronology)	62
	Appendix—Tables.	96

PART TWO

Ch. One.	Kashmir Chronology	105
Ch. two.	Various Chronological Computations	166
Ch. Three.	Nepalese Chronology	215
Ch. Four.	Naraka Episode and Assamese Chronology	225
	Appendix:—Who was Alexander's contemporary?	233

PART THREE

Ch. One.	Chandragupta Maurya and the Greek Evidence	243
Ch. Two.	The Greek Evidence and the Guptas	257
Ch. Three.	The Piyadasi Inscriptions	273
Ch. Four.	The Gupta Era	289

PART FOUR

Ch. One.	The Yugas	309
Ch. Two.	The Saptarṣi Era	322
Ch Three.	Harṣa Vikramāditya	333
Ch Four.	Pre-Mahābhārata Ayodhyā Dynasty	341
	Index	355

101	विद्यावतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजाः ।	
102	न चेत्पुराणं स विद्यामेव स स्याद्विचक्षणः ॥	
103		
104		
105		
106		
107		
108		
109		
110		
111		
112		
113		
114		
115		
116		
117		
118		
119		
120		
121		
122		
123		
124		
125		
126		
127		
128		
129		
130		
131		
132		
133		
134		
135		
136		
137		
138		
139		
140		
141		
142		
143		
144		
145		
146		
147		
148		
149		
150		

Preface

In this volume, I have tried to determine certain epochs of the ancient Indian Chronology from Manu Vaivasvata to the rise of the Guptas. In so doing I have relied upon the Purāṇas and my claim is this that *according to the Purāṇas as they are available today*, we get the following definite information about our Chronology.

(1) In the days of the Mahābhārata i. e. in the days of Parikṣit and Janamejaya they had counted 2800 years as elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to the death of Yudhiṣṭhira.

(2) In the days of Adhishimakṛṣṇa and other 'Sāmprata' kings, they had counted three yugas i. e. 3000 years to have been over from Manu Vaivasvata.

(3) In the days of Śiśunāga and Mahānanda they had counted four yugas i. e. 4000 years as having elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to Śiśunāga and Mahānanda.

Purāṇas show these three periods clearly and definitely and in my opinion, this is amply demonstrated in the following pages.

Again, a study of the Purāṇas has shown that Manu was a dynastic title and Manvantara meant a dynastic period, and taking these senses as well as the evidence furnished by Megasthenes and Herodotus into consideration, it is found that all our present Puranic genealogies upto Nandas and even Āndhras have been constructed on an arbitrary and artificial method, which I have designated as Manvantara — Caturyuga — Method (= MCM). According to this Method one king-name in the genealogies represents a time-unit of 40 years or 20 years. Thus the succession list which is given in the Purāṇas is not reliable *as such*, but this also is certain that a name mentioned in the Puranic genealogies generally guarantees the existence of that person as a king, not necessarily in the same chronological order but most probably in the same family.

This MCM is found employed in the dynastic lists of Kashmir, Nepal and Assam and I have studied these here.

And, combining the evidence of the Purāṇas on the one hand and of Megasthenes and Arrian on the other I have arrived at the following dates.

- (1) Date of Manu Vaivasvanta is 5976 B. C.
- (2) Date of Mbh war is 3201 B. C.
- (3) Date of Yudhiṣṭhira's death is 3176 B. C.
- (4) Date of the end of Dvāpara and start of Kali is 2976 B. C.
- (5) Date of Kali-end is 1976 B. C.

All this has led me to the conclusion that the contemporary of Alexander was not Chandragupta Maurya, but Chandragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty. For the post-Mbh chronology I wish to emphasise only two points.

(1) Relying on the evidence of Arrian it is shown here that there were three kingless periods of 350 years (between the Saisunāgas and the Nandas), 300 years (between the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas) and 120 years (between the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas) respectively. It is further shown that out of the two Puranic schools, one counted the years of these periods but the other silently omitted them, thus showing so many years less in its general totals.

(2) Taking into consideration Kalhaya's date of Mahabharata, it has been shown, here, that there existed a difference of 653 or 753 years between the two schools and that one school included while the other omitted these years in its calculations.

And, in this light, various dates about the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and Mahāvira as also about some other incidents mentioned in Buddhistic and Jain works have been examined here.*

I am indebted to Shri M. S. Patel and Shri P. C. Vaidya for helping me in seeing this work through the press.

16-12-51.

Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyalaya
Vallabhvidyanagar, via Anand.

D. R. Mankad

* Whoever writes anything about this book is requested to send a copy of his writing to me at the above address.

P R R T O N E

- Ch. One: Introductory
- Ch. Two: Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (The Theory)
- Ch. Three: Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (its application-
Pre-Kali Chronology)
- Ch. Four: Manvantara-Caturyuga Method (its application-
Kali Chronology)

APPENDIX: Genealogical Tables

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।

देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

It is customary for our Paurāṇikas to commence a Purāṇic work with the above salutation. I, too, begin this humble work with this time-honoured prayer, in the hope that with the blessings of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, of Sarasvatī and Vyāsa, I shall get *java* in my present undertaking, which is to reconstruct Purāṇic chronology.

In reconstructing ancient Indian chronology, it will be convenient to commence with a consideration of the following extracts from two well-known Greek writers. Amongst the fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes, the following two are relevant for our purposes. One is from Pliny and the other is from Solinus.

"From the days of Bachhus to Alexander the Great, their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extended over 6,451 years and three months."¹

"Father Bachhus was the first who invaded India and was first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great, 6,451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the interval, to the number of 153."²

Following extract is taken from Arrian's *Indika*.

1. Fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes collected by Dr. E. H. Schwanback, Bonn 1846 and translated by J. W. MacCrindle, Calcutta, 1926, p. 116 (Fragm I. C. Plin. Hist. Nat.)

2. Ibid p. 115 (Solin 52.5).

"From the time of Dionysos to Sandrocottos, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6,042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established and another of 300 years and another of 120 years."¹

This information, recorded in 3rd century B. C. by Megasthenes and again in 2nd century A. D. by Arrian, is extremely valuable for our purpose. But as the original work of Megasthenes is lost, we may be tempted to say that quotations given by later writers have very little value. But, when two different writers (Pliny and Solinus) quote from the same source-book and when both the quotations are practically identical, as they are here, we may safely take them to represent the original. But, then, it may be objected that there are contradictory statements in the above extracts. Thus, between Pliny and Solinus one gives the number of kings as 153 and the other as 154. But this is checked up by Arrian's statement, which gives 153 kings and which, therefore, we may take to be the correct number. Again, it may be said that the number of years, given by Megasthenes differs from the one given by Arrian by 409 and this may deter us from relying upon these statements. Again, one talks of the period as having elapsed between Bachhus and Alexander and the other as between Dionysos and Sandrocottos. Are these limits identical? I shall consider these points here before proceeding further.

How did these two Greek writers come to possess the information they have recorded here? In other words, what could have been the source of their information? Such precise numbers as 153 and 6,451 or 6,042 cannot be pure inventions. Evidently, the Greek writers are, here, quoting what their Indian informants told them; and their Indian informants, in all likelihood, were the Paurāṇikas. In fact, in India, apart from the Purāṇas, there is no other source for such information. Therefore, we can safely take it that these Greek writers were supplied with these facts by the Paurāṇikas, as they were recorded in the Purāṇas in their days. But, then, neither the Paurāṇikas nor the Purāṇas could have used the names Bachhus and Dionysos. And still one Greek writer uses the name Bachhus and the other Dionysos. In fact, Megasthenes gives these figures for kings from Bachhus to Alexander and Arrian for kings from Dionysos to Sandrocottos. A question would, naturally, arise

1. From the *Indika* of Arrian, same edition as above, p. 208.

whether both these calculations refer to the period between the same two kings or not. As Sandrocottos was a contemporary of Alexander, we can say that both the writers calculated upto the same period i.e. upto the period of Alexander or upto c. 325 B.C. Thus the lower limit is the same. But are Bachhus and Dionysos the same? We are, here, not concerned with the Greek mythology. Whatever their respective position be in Greek mythology, here, at any rate, they seem to refer to the same person: for, the number of kings given by both the writers is 153 and if both the calculations end with one and the same king (viz. Sandrocottos), they must start also with one and the same king. Therefore, I think that both Megasthenes and Arrian refer to the same person by Bachhus and Dionysos. But who was this person with whom these calculations started? As I said above the Indian Purāṇakāras, who gave this information to the Greek travellers, could not have used the names Bachhus and Dionysos. Then what could have been the name given by the Indians to them? Our Puranic chronology gives us two distinct vaṇśas—one the Svāyambhuva vaṇśa and the other the Vaivasvata vaṇśa. Out of these two, the first was, more or less, taken as divine and all our Puranic dynasties, solar as well as lunar, start with Manu Vaivasvata. I, therefore, think that the Paurāṇikas, who gave to the Greek travellers the above information, counted the period from Manu Vaivasvata to Sandrocottos.

But, if all this information was given from the Purāṇas, we should see if our Purāṇas, as they are to-day, furnish a corroboration of these statements. I shall, therefore, examine the Puranic evidence, in what follows, understanding that the information recorded by Megasthenes and Arrian was based upon Puranic traditions current in their days.¹

These Greek writers say that from Manu Vaivasvata to Sandrocottos, there had ruled in India 153 kings and their total regnal period was 6,451 or 6,042 years.² Let us consider the number of kings first. Our Purāṇas, as we have them to-day, start with Manu

1. These statements have been considered by many earlier writers. See Fergusson, Shamasastri, Gopal Aiyar, Narayana Shastri, Jagannath Rao, Dev and others. But no one has attempted to see if the number of kings and years both tally with our traditions.

2. The difference of 409 years between the figures of these writers is apparent only. It will be fully explained later.

Vaivasvata and branch off into Solar and Lunar lines. Both these lines first stop at the Mahābhārata (Mbh) war and then the Solar line goes on for about 30 kings and finally stops. The Lunar line, through its Hastināpura branch, stops after about 30 kings, but through its Magadha line, goes on down to the end of the Āndhras. Now, Sandrocottos, who was a contemporary of Alexander, was a king of Magadha. Therefore, the king, with whom the number 153 was completed, was a Magadha king. Now, Magadha branch, in all the Purāṇas, is always put in direct continuation of the Lunar line. The Magadha king, who died in the Mbh war, was Sahadeva, the son of Jarāsandha. His number from Manu Vaivasvata, as found in different Purāṇas to-day, ranges between 48 and 36.¹

Thus we get 48 to 36 kings before the Mbh war. Then, for the post-Mbh Magadhan dynasties, I give below the number of kings for each dynasty as found in Pargiter's *Texts of Kali Dynasties* and also as found in *Bhaviṣṣyottara-purāṇa*² (Bht) (as quoted in M. Krishnamachariar's *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. xxviii) I should point out that Pargiter's text represents the consensus of Vy, Bd, Vn and Mt.

	Pargiter	Bht
Bārhadrathas	22	22
Pradyotas	5	5
Saiśunāgas	10	10
Nandas	9	9
	<hr/> 46	<hr/> 46
Mauryas	10	12
Sungas	10	10
Kāpvas	4	4
Āndhras	30	32
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 104

Here we find that both the schools are agreed in their numbers for all the dynasties but two. For the Mauryas Pargiter gives 10 kings and Bht gives 12 and for the Āndhras Pargiter gives 30 and Bht gives 32. Out of this, for the Mauryas, most of the sources of Pargiter give 9 or 10 kings but one source (evā) gives 12 also. Thus the tradition of 12 kings for the Mauryas is

1. Thus: 36 (Ag); 39 (Bg); 41 (Vn); 44 (Hr); 46 (Vy), (Bd), (Gd); and 48 (Mt).
2. I shall discuss later the genuineness of this Purāṇa.

not restricted to Bht only. Number 32 for the Āndhras as given in Bht, is not noted by Pargiter anywhere. But this shows that the difference between the two schools is, at the most, of two to four kings and that, too, amongst the dynasties after the Nandas. Thus we get 46 kings, according to both the schools, upto the end of the Nandas and 100 to 104 kings upto the end of the Āndhras. Now, this shows that Chandragupta Maurya, who succeeded the Nandas, and whom we almost unanimously take to have been the contemporary of Alexander and therefore the same as Sandrocottos of the Greek writers, was 47th after Sahadeva. Therefore, the number of Chandragupta Maurya from Manu Vaivasvata will be $48 \text{ (number of Sahadeva)} + 47 = 95\text{th}$ at the most. But, as we have seen above, both Megasthenes and Arrian say that Sandrocottos was 153rd from Manu Vaivasvata. How is this to be explained? Either the information recorded by the Greek writers is wrong or the Purāṇas as we possess them to-day are wrong. But I think that the figure 153 is correct. Both Megasthenes and Arrian independently give the same figure. It cannot be said that Arrian is here following Megasthenes, as the number of years given by both differs by 409. Therefore, these two statements are distinctly based upon two independent traditions. And because both give the number of kings as 153, that number, I think, is correct. Are, then, our present Purāṇas incorrect? I do not think that to be the case either.

We know that, of late, some scholars have advocated¹ that the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, and not Chandragupta Maurya. We should, therefore, in all fairness, go down to Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and count the number of kings from Manu Vaivasvata to him. The above table shows that the number of the last Āndhra king was 100th after the Mbh war, according to one school and 104th according to the other school. Therefore, the number of Chandragupta I, who succeeded the last Āndhra was either 101st or 105th from after Sahadeva. And we have seen that Sahadeva's own number from Manu Vaivasvata was 36th, 39th, 41st, 44th, 46th or 48th. If we take his number to be 48th according to Mt, we get $(48 + 105 =)$ 153rd as the number of Chandragupta I from Manu Vaivasvata. And that is the number given to Sandrocottos by the Greek writers. The disorderly nature of the texts

1. T. S. N. Shastri; M. Krishnamachariar, Jagannath Rao, D. S. Trivedi and some others.

of the different Purāṇas will be examined by me later; but let us, here, remember that the number 153 tallies (at least according to one Purāṇa) with Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and not with Chandragupta Maurya, according to any Purāṇa. Thus we find that the number of kings given by the Greek writers in the above extracts, is actually found corroborated by our present Purāṇas and this suggests that the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander the Great was not Chandragupta Maurya, but Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

Let us, now, see if the number of years i. e. 6,451 years given by Megasthenes did elapse between these 153 kings i. e. between Manu Vaiyavata and Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupta I. Our Purāṇas give us totals of the regnal periods of different dynasties that ruled after the Mbh war, but for the dynasties of the pre-Mbh period they give us no regnal periods. Let us, therefore, first consider the question of the regnal periods of the different post-Mbh Magadhan dynasties as they are found in the Purāṇas to-day. I give below a consolidated table of the totals of the regnal periods of post-Mbh dynasties as found in Pargiter's texts and as found in *Bht*.

	Pargiter	Bht
Bṛhadrathas	1,000	1,000
Pradyotas	138	138
Śaiśunāgas	360	362
Nandas	100	100
	<hr/> 1,598	<hr/> 1,600
Mauryas	137	316
Śuṅgas	112	300
Kāvyas	45	85
Āndhras	456	506
Āndhrabhṛtyas ¹	52	...
	<hr/> 2,400	<hr/> 2,807

It will be seen that whereas Pargiter's texts give upto the rise of the Guptas, a maximum total of 2,400 years, Bht gives 2,807. Thus the difference between the two schools is of 407 years. But before proceeding further, I should mention that *Bht* totals given above are taken from the *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar, and recently it is maintained by some scholars²

1. I have included these here, because I think that the figure 506 found in Bht for the Āndhras includes these years.

2. R.C. Majumdar and N. N. Dasgupta in *IHO*, xx, 4, p. 345 ff.

that this *Bht* is not reliable and is not genuine. There is some truth in this view, but this whole question has a history, which is very important for our purposes.

It was Mr. T. S. Narayan Shastri, who, in his the '*Kings of Magadha*' (published in 1916 ?) had, for the first time, printed and discussed these verses, which are quoted by Krishnamachariar. Mr. Shastri declared that he possessed a Ms of *Kaliyugārājavṛttānta* (KR) as given in *Bhaviṣṣyottarapurāṇa*, from which he had quoted these verses. I have found that these same verses have been used by Krishnamachariar in his '*Classical Sanskrit Literature*' by Mr. Jagannatha Rao in his the '*Age of the Mahābhārata war*' and by some other writers; but almost all of them have never acknowledged that they have drawn these verses from Shastri's book.

Mr. Shastri's original work shows his scholarship, his fresh outlook, his original interpretative powers and sincere enthusiasm for our ancient Indian culture. I shall, therefore, explain the whole position as I have understood it from a close study of his work.

Mr. Shastri seems to have thought that the traditional date of the Mbh war viz 3101 B.C. was correct. Now so far as our tradition goes, 3101 B.C. as the date of the Mbh war has been found current from a long time past. At the same time, we should admit that there is one other date—2448 B.C.—for the Mbh war, which is accepted by Kalhaṇa in his *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*. Thus, our tradition knows of two dates for the Mbh war—3101 B.C. and 2448 B.C. A third date is sometimes obtained by the modern scholars in an indirect manner. Our Purāṇas give the number of years that had elapsed from the time of Parikṣit's birth to Mahāpadma Nanda's accession. But the Puranic texts, at this point are confused and they give figures like 1,050, 1,150, 1500. And the modern scholars, accepting the lowest figure as correct, and putting Mahāpadma Nanda in c. 327 B.C. say that the Mbh war was fought in c. 1400 B.C. This presupposes the synchronism between Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander; but, we have just noted that this synchronism has been disputed by some scholars. In fact, there is not a single statement in our vast ancient literature, which directly puts the Mbh war in 1400 B.C. Therefore, to one who wishes to rely upon genuine traditions, and then to examine other literary evidence in that light, there are only two dates known for the Mbh war—3101 B.C. and 2448 B.C. Out of these two dates, 3101 B.C.

is known to have been used earlier than Kaihaṇḍya, who, for the first time advocates the date 2448 B.C. Of course, it is not unlikely that it was known before the days of Kaihaṇḍya.¹ Any way, so far as Mr. Shastri is concerned, he has taken 3101 B.C. as the correct date and then tried to examine, on that basis, the synchronism, established by the modern scholars, between Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander.

The question for him was this: if we put the Mbh war in 3101 B.C., who was the king ruling in Magadha in 327 B.C., purely according to the Purāṇic evidence? To answer this, we must examine the various Kali or post-Mbh dynasties given in the Purāṇas. Mr. Shastri has done this in his book, and I put his results below with my own remarks thereon. He takes 3101 B.C. as the date of the Kali-start and as Kali had started with the death of Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira, 3101 B.C. is the date of Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Now, Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have ruled for 35 years. Therefore the Mbh war, Mr. Shastri urged, had been fought in $3101 + 35 = 3136$ B.C. Thus Mr. Shastri starts his post-Mbh chronology with 3136 B.C. He, then, takes up the total regnal periods of the various dynasties that ruled over Magadha after the Mbh war.

Now, our Purāṇas give, for each of the post-Mbh dynasties, the regnal periods of each individual king as well as the general total of the reigns of the whole dynasty. Sometimes, it is urged that the Purāṇas show discrepancy when we total up individual regnal periods and compare them with the general totals (of the whole dynasty). But I must say that I have studied this question in detail and have found that this discrepancy is found only if we accept the readings with the lowest figures. I know (and it will be clear later on) that if we adopt proper readings, the total of the individual rules and that of the whole dynastic rule agree very well. Having, thus, cleared this point, let us, now, proceed.

After the Mbh war, the Purāṇas unanimously give 1,000 years to the Bārhadrathas, 138 years to the Pradyotas, 360 or 362 years to the Śaśunāgas and 100 years to the Nandas. Thus according to these totals, given in all the Purāṇas uniformly Chandragupta Maurya came to the throne 1,600 years after the Mbh war. Putting

1. I have, later, examined in detail, the question of the initial year of Kali Era.

the Mbh war in 3136 B. C., as Mr. Shastri does, we get 3136 — 1600 = 1536 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession. But our scholars do not take 1500 years as the correct figure for the first three post-Mbh dynasties i. e. upto the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda. They rely upon a verse (found in all our Purāṇas), which reads as under :

महापद्मभिषेकालु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् । (Pargiter p. 58)

This verse gives 1,050 years from Parikṣit's birth (i. e. Mbh war) to Mahāpadma's accession and above we have seen that according to the totals of the first three dynasties, we get 1,500 years for the same period. Thus, here, we seem to come in conflict with two different Puranic texts. But, I should, here, point out that even according to Pargiter the last line of the above verse has a reading like pañcaśatottaram which gives just 1,500 years for this period. Therefore, in order to have conformity, we should accept this reading, and not the one accepted by Pargiter. But the modern scholars accept the wrong reading and then complain of discrepancy in the Puranic texts. Mr. Shastri, has accepted 1,500 years for this period, as it is an authentic reading according to the Purāṇas.

Thus, putting the Mbh war in 3136 B. C., Mr. Shastri found that Chandragupta Maurya, according to the Purāṇas, came to the throne in 1536 B. C. Therefore, he said that Chandragupta Maurya was not the contemporary of Alexander. Now, it should be remembered that so far, that is, upto the end of the Nandas, all the Purāṇas are unanimous in their totals for the different dynasties and the totals given from KR by Shastri also agree with these totals. Therefore, even if KR is a forgery, there should be no difficulty in accepting the figures given by all the existing Purāṇas unanimously. Even if we put the Mbh war in 2448 B. C. according to Kalhana and others, Chandragupta Maurya's accession, according to this calculation, will have to be put in 848 B. C. and thus also he cannot be taken to be Alexander's contemporary.

Thus, so far the position is this. Purely from the standpoint of Indian Brahmanic tradition, Chandragupta Maurya lived much earlier than 327 B. C. Thus, by examining the traditional evidence, Mr. Shastri came to the conclusion, first, negatively, that Chandragupta

Maurya could not have been the contemporary of Alexander and then, positively, that it was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, who was Alexander's contemporary. Before I examine the evidence relied upon by Mr. Shastri, for the period subsequent to the Nandas, I must emphasise the fact that it is only after disregarding Brahmanic traditional evidence altogether and that too most unceremoniously that the modern scholars obtain the synchronism between Chandragupta Maurya, and Alexander. Now let us proceed.

If Chandragupta Maurya was not the contemporary of Alexander, who else was his contemporary at Magadha? The names Xandrames and Sandrocottos found in the writings of the Greek writers point to a name like Chandragupta. If, therefore, a Chandragupta was the contemporary of Alexander and if he was not Chandragupta Maurya he must have been Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, as the earliest Chandragupta (after the Maurya Chandragupta) of whom we know in our history, was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. We should, therefore, just see whether he could have been Alexander's contemporary or not. If he was, he must be placed in c. 327 B. C. Therefore he should be removed from the Mbh war by about (3136 (taking that to be the date of the war) - 327 =) 2,809 years. According to the Purāṇas, the Guptas come after the Āndhras. Therefore, we should see if the Purāṇas give about 2,809 years for the post-Mbh dynasties up to the end of the Āndhras. A study of the Puranic texts, as given in Pargiter's *Kali* texts and as are generally found in our printed Purāṇas, shows the following. Just after the Mbh war, Bārhadrathas ruled for 1,000 years, Pradyotas for 138 years, Saiśunāgas for 360 years, Nandas for 100 years, Mauryas for 137 years, Śuṅgas for 112 years, Kāṇvas for 45 years and Āndhras for 456 years. This gives us a total of 2,348 years and not of 2,809 years.

It is just at this point that Mr. Shastri's *KR* is said to differ from the other Purāṇas. Following table will make this difference clear.

	Acc. to P's texts	Acc. to KR	Difference
Bārhadrathas	1,000	1,000	—
Pradyotas	138	138	—
Saiśunāgas	360	362	2 years
Nandas	100	100	—
Mauryas	137	316	179 years
Śuṅgas	112	300	188 years
Kāṇvas	45	85	40 years
Āndhras	456	506	50 years
	2,348	2,807	459

This table shows that KR differs from Pargiter's texts in the case of the Śaiśunāgas by 2 years, in the case of the Mauryas by 179 years, in the case of the Śuṅgas by 188 years, in the case of the Kāpvas by 40 years and in the case of the Āndhras by 50 years. And we find that the figures according to KR give us a total of 2,807 years, which is practically the same as 2,809 which would be required according to Mr. Shastri's calculations, if Chandragupta I was Alexander's contemporary. Difference of 2 years would only mean that Chandragupta I came to the throne in 329 B. C. and not in 327 B. C.

Now, because we find that the verses regarding the Guptas as given by Mr. Shastri from KR are forged (and I admit that certain details given in those verses are really suspicious), we are likely to say that these totals for different dynasties as given according to KR, are also forged. But before rejecting those figures summarily, I suggest that we should hear what Mr. Shastri himself has said about them. I should point out that Mr. Shastri himself has shown that at all the places, where a difference is found between his figures and those of other Purāṇas, his figures i. e. the figures of KR are supported by one or the other known Purāṇa. I have myself verified Mr. Shastri's arguments and statements and I give below the whole position about these dynasties as I find it.

Mr. Shastri gives 362 years for the Śaiśunāgas, while the other Purāṇas give 360 to them. But even according to Pargiter (p. 22 fn. 46), certain mss of Vāyu and Viṣṇu give 362 to the Śaiśunāgas.

Regarding the Mauryas, we find that Pargiter's texts give them 137 years and Shastri's KR gives them 316 years. Mr. Shastri says the following in support of his figure (*The kings of Magadha* p. 66).

"There is however another version of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa which mentions the names of all these 12 kings and total number of years for which they reigned makes up exactly 316 years. Miss Cl Mabel Duff in her Table of the Maurya Dynasty appended to her *Chronology of India* refers to a version of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in which the names of 11 kings are mentioned omitting the name of Indrapalita who ruled for 70 years: and the number of years given to each of these kings exactly tallies with this version [i. e. KR] excepting the fact that Chandragupta is assigned only 24 years instead of 34 years and Nandasāra only 25 years instead of 28 years as we have in this version."

And I should add that Pargiter's *eva* (e ms. of Vāyu) also gives the same figures as are given by Miss Duff. So that what Mr. Shastri says is quite plausible and we have to admit that the tradition of about 316 (if not exactly 316) years was known to at least two of the known Purāṇas.

Mr. Shastri's KR gives 300 years to the Śuṅgas, while Pargiter's texts give them 112 years. Here also, as Mr. Shastri has pointed out, some of the Purāṇas do read 'gate dve ca' i. e. 100 plus 200 i. e. 300 years in all. Pargiter also notes this reading (gate dve) in fn 50, p. 33.

Regarding the Kāṇvas, Pargiter gives 45 years and KR gives 85 years. Here also Mr. Shastri has noted a reading of *Viṣṇu* thus (p. 86-7).

एते चत्वारिंशद् काण्वायनाश्वत्थारः पञ्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूपत्यो भविष्यन्ति ।

And Shastri has taken this to mean $40 + 45 = 85$ years for the four Kāṇvas. I should only add that a similar reading is noted by Pargiter also (p. 35 fn 29).

Thus, though it is true that the figures given for these dynasties by Mr. Shastri's KR differ from Pargiter's texts, it is equally true that there are other genuine readings which support the figures given by Mr. Shastri. So that, even if we say that the talk of KR is altogether fabricated by Mr. Shastri, we can still not get away from the fact that there seem to have been two distinct traditions regarding the regnal periods of these dynasties. This is supported by the following also.

It will be seen from the table given above that for the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, there is a difference of 407 years between the two traditions. Later on we shall see that the Nandas ruled for about 87 and not for 100 years. And thus this difference will be of 420 years. It will also be seen later that there were two kingless periods of $300 + 120 = 420$ years somewhere between these dynasties and that one tradition included and the other did not include these 420 years in its totals. For this I, here, note only one proof; later the matter will become fully clear. Usual figure for the Śuṅgas is 112 years and as is pointed out by Pargiter, if we include months, (p. 30) then 118 years. Now jmt (j. ms. of Matsya) gives 538 years to the Śuṅgas (see Pargiter's texts p. 33, fn 50), i. e. exactly 420 years more than the usual figure. This, I suggest, includes 420 years of the two kingless periods (of which we shall soon talk).

Thus we do find two distinct schools upto the end of the Kāṇvas. Then for the Āndhras, Pargiter gives 456 and KR gives 506 years. The difference of 50 years is, I think, caused by the inclusion of 50 or 52 years of the Āndhrabhṛtyas.

Thus, without passing a judgment about the genuineness or otherwise of Mr. Shastri's KR, we have to admit that our Puranic tradition knows of two distinct versions and according to one of these versions, the total of the post-Mbh dynasties upto the end of the Āndhras is 2,348 years and according to the other version 2,807 years.

Having thus established the existence of two distinct schools, let us now consider the number of years given by the Greek writers.

We find from the above that between the Mbh war and Chandragupta Maurya, there had elapsed, according to one school 1,800 years, and according to another 1,600 years and between the Mbh war and Chandragupta I, there had elapsed, according to one school 2,348 years and according to another school 2,807 years. Therefore, in order to have 6,451 years between Manu Vaivasvata and Chandragupta Maurya, we shall require for the pre-Mbh period upto Manu Vaivasvata, either $(6,451 - 1,598 =)$ 4,853 years or $(6,451 - 1,600 =)$ 4,851 years, and between Manu Vaivasvata and Chandragupta I, we shall require, for the pre-Mbh period upto Manu Vaivasvata, either $(6,451 - 2,348 =)$ 4,103 years or $(6,451 - 2,807 =)$ 3,644 years. Is there any evidence to show that there had elapsed between Manu Vaivasvata and the Mbh war, a period of 4853 or 4,851 or 4,103 or 3,644 years?

It is really unfortunate that the Puranic texts do not give us regnal years of the kings of the pre-Mbh dynasties. It is rather strange that they should not. Did the practice arise only after the Mbh war? There is hardly any positive evidence for answering this question. But I should submit that there are definite indications in the Purāṇas for calculating the regnal periods of the kings of the pre-Mbh dynasties.

One method of calculating time-intervals was the yuga-system. The yuga-system seems to have changed its scope and nature several times. At one time, it seems to have been used for computing historical intervals of time. Later, it came to be used for astronomical purposes and in between somewhere, the whole system of yugas was given a

religio-ethical basis. But here we are concerned with the use of yuga-system for computing historical periods. All our Puranic tradition loudly proclaims that the Mbh war was fought either at the end of Dvāparayuga or during the Sandhyā period between the Dvāpara and Kali yugas. But this raises the question of the number of years to be assigned to each yuga.

Usual number of years assigned to each yuga is as under:—
 Kṛta = 17,28,000 years, Tretā = 12,96,000 years, Dvāpara = 8,64,000 years and Kali = 4,32,000 years. But all the scholars who have studied this question of yuga-system have agreed that these huge numbers of years assigned to yugas are for astronomical purposes and that for historical purposes the number of years for each of the yugas was as under: Kṛta = 4,800 years, Tretā = 3,600 years, Dvāpara = 2,400 and Kali = 1,200 years¹. I have in this connection, shown² that Āryabhaṭṭa and Puṇḍarikā preserve a tradition of each yuga having an equal number of years; and therefore, I have suggested the possibility of each yuga having 1,000 years only or with Sandhyā periods of 200 years, 1200 years only. In fact, I have discussed this question of yuga-system in some details and I have appended the whole discussion at the end of this volume.³

But thus, we get four sets of number of years for the yugas as under:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kṛta	17,28,000	4,800	1,200	1,000
Tretā	12,96,000	3,600	1,200	1,000
Dvāpara	8,64,000	2,400	1,200	1,000
Kali	4,32,000	1,200	1,200	1,000

Let us now apply each one of these to our present enquiry. Taking the Mbh war to have happened at the end of Dvāpara (as it is very generally believed), and putting Manu Vaivasvata at the beginning of Kṛta, we should take the total of the first three yugas as the total regnal period for the pre-Mbh dynasties from Vaivasvata to Sahadeva (the Magadha king who died in the Mbh war). Now, according to the first computation above, we shall have 38,88,000 years for the first three yugas. But this figure does not tally with any of the four figures (viz 4,853, 4,851, 4,103, 3,644) arrived at above.

1. Rangacarya, Aiyar, Tilak.

2. See further Pt IV, *The yugas*.

According to the second computation, we shall have 10,800 years for the first three yugas, but this also does not satisfy any of the above four figures. According to the third computation, we shall have 3,600 years and according to the fourth computation 3,000 years for the first three yugas. Out of these two, the figure 3,600 is nearest to 3,644 years, which we wanted for the pre-Mbh period, according to one calculation. In fact we have found above that if we can have 3,644 years for the pre-Mbh period upto Manu Vaivasvata, the figure of 6,451 years given by Megasthenes will be correct. Here we get 3,600 years for the first three yugas, which cover the period of pre-Mbh kings upto Manu Vaivasvata. we have earlier got, according to one Puranic version 2,807 years for the post Mbh period upto Chandragupta I (not Chandragupta Maurya). Thus we get $3,600 + 2,807 = 6,407$ years in all from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta I. The total given by Megasthenes is more by 44 years. These 44 years will be accounted for by me later on. I shall, later, go into all the details of the pre-Mbh and post-Mbh dynasties and the different calculations given in different purāṇas; but we may, at present, note that even this rough calculation, based upon yuga-system shows that the traditions recorded by Megasthenes tally quite well with the Puranic evidence which we possess even now. However, at this stage, I request the reader to consider all the above considerations as rough only.



CHAPTER TWO

MANVANTARA-CATURYUGA-METHOD

[THE THEORY]

BUT the figure of 6,451 years is arrived at in some other way also. In fact, I have found that there was a very peculiar device resorted to by our Puranic chronologists for counting longer chronological periods. This peculiar device, I find, is enunciated in clear terms by Megasthenes. I shall re-quote the passage from Solinus.

"From him (*i. e.* Bachhus) to Alexander the Great, 6,451 years are reckoned with three months additional, *the calculation being made by counting the kings that reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153.*"

Here, I wish to draw attention to the italicised portion in the above extract. It seems to mean that we can calculate 6,451 years by counting the kings *i. e.* the number of kings that ruled in the intermediate period. But how can we know a total (dynastic) regnal period by simply counting the kings who ruled during that period? And yet, if the above statement is to bear any sense, it should mean that the ancient Indians used to reckon a given dynastic regnal period by counting the number of kings, who ruled in the interval. The statement almost means — there had elapsed 6,451 years between Bachhus and Alexander, because 153 kings had ruled between them. The statement looks senseless and yet, we can find the total dynastic regnal period by counting the number of intermediate kings, if (and only if) the kings represented some time-unit. Therefore to me, this statement seems to say that the Indians had evolved some method of computing longer regnal periods and that this method was to give the required number of time-units represented by king-names, for computing

the total regnal period. Thus each king-name will have a time-value. But then the question will be what was this time-value. We seem to get an indirect answer to this from the Greek writers themselves. Megasthenes gives 153 kings for 6,451 years, which gives an average of 42.2 years, per king. Arrian gives 153 kings for 6,042 years, which gives an average of 39.6 years per king. I, therefore, take it that the time-value given to each king-name in the genealogical lists was of 40 years.

Of course, this whole device looks and is artificial, but it seems to have been noted by a Muslim traveller in the ninth century. The Muslim traveller Suleman Sodagar (A. D. 851) writes:¹

इन के यहाँ अरब निवासियों की तरह तारीख की गणना इजरात मुहम्मद माहव के समय से नहीं है, बल्कि तारीख का सम्बन्ध राजाओं के साथ है।

Here also the portion, in black types, most probably, connects the calculation of time with the kings.

But, I wish to submit that artificial as the whole device is, it is positively found used in other countries. Read in this connection, the following from Herodotus is interesting.²

"They declare that from their first king to the last-mentioned monarch, the priest of Vulcan, was a period of three hundred and forty-one generations. Such, at least they say was the number both of their kings and of their high-priests during this interval. Now three hundred generations of men make ten thousand years, three generations filling up the century; and the remaining forty-one generations make thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole number of years is eleven thousand, three hundred and forty."

Here, Herodotus tells us in clearest terms that the ancient Egyptian chronologists took 3 king-names to represent 100 years; thus a king-name, in Egyptian chronology will represent a unit of 33.33 years. This shows clearly that such an artificial system of chronological computation did exist in ancient times in Egypt, particularly when we find the same number (341) of generations given for the kings and the priests both. The above statements of Megasthenes and Suleman show that it existed in India also. Only, ancient Indian chronologists seem to have taken a king-name to represent a time unit of 40 years.

1. I quote this from *Vaidika Vaidmāya ka itihāsa* pt I by Bhagavaddatta p. 31.

2. *History of Herodotus*. G. Rawlinson, London, 1892, p. 189.

But all this would naturally raise the question of the source of Megasthenes' information about this peculiar device. Did the Puranic informants inform Megasthenes that they were using such a method for computing longer regnal periods? Megasthenes' statement is unmistakable, and the only inference therefrom would be that the Purāṇas have actually used such a method and Megasthenes was informed of it by the Paurāṇikas. But, if it is so, why do we not find this method mentioned in the present Purāṇas? Here, I should submit that this whole question is linked up with the question of Manvantara and caturyuga.

We find that Manvantara is one of the five lakṣaṇas of a Purāṇa. Apart from sarga and pratisarga, each of the Purāṇas is supposed to have vaṁśa, vaṁśānucarita and manvantara. Vaṁśa, of course, means genealogical tables of different dynasties. Vaṁśānucarita would mean noteworthy points in the lives of certain kings of these dynasties. What, then, is Manvantara? Manvantara, here, is evidently not used in its astronomical sense. Apparently, it should have, as a lakṣaṇa of Purāṇa, some connection with vaṁśa and vaṁśānucarita, particularly because it is not connected there, with yuga, kalpa etc. I, therefore, here, examine the entire question of Manvantara as it is employed in the Purāṇas.

Our Purāṇas, usually, speak of 14 Manvantaras. Let us understand what Manvantara meant in the Purāṇas. My study has shown to me that at least in relation to v.āṁśa and vaṁśānucarita, Manvantara was not a unit of astronomical calculations. Manvantara is a word composed of two words viz. Manu and antara. Let us, therefore first understand the sense of Manu.

Manu, I have found, was a generic dynastic title like Caesar, Gaekwad etc. Manu, thus, was a title designating king's office. Following are the grounds on which I say this.

(1) Usually we hear of 14 Manus only, but if Manu was a generic title like Caesar, Gaekwad, as each king of that dynasty would be called Caesar (like Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar etc), so each king in ancient dynasties would be called Manu. And we find Priyavrata (who is definitely not one of the 14 Manus) being called a Manu in Bg v, 1, 22.

(2) Again Mbh speaks of a Prācetasā Manu (not one of 14 Manus) (Shānti 57, 43). Prācetasas are one step above Dakṣa.

(3) Again amongst Rgveda-ṛsis, we find two ṛsis named Manu Samvaraṇa, author of IX, 101, (10—13) and Manu Āpsava, author of XI, 109, (7—9). Both of these are not found in the names of the 14 Manus.

(4) In Vy we find 36 Manus mentioned.

अथ यो वर्तते कल्पो विश्वरूपस्त्वसौ स्मृतः ।

वस्मिन्मवादेशो देवाः षट्त्रिंशन्मनवः स्मृताः ॥ 23rd, 47.

(5) In the following *Manutva* is very clearly used in the sense of Manu-ship or kingship.

योसावस्मिन्महाकल्पे तनयः स विवस्वतः ।

आद्वेदेवो इति ख्यातो मनुन्वे हरिणाऽर्पितः ॥ Bg. VIII, 24, 7.

Here, *Manutva* is very clearly used in the sense of the office of a Manu.

(6) According to ancient Iranian tradition, Narsih, the brother of Yima, was called the Minos of Chino (see S. B. E. V, 130-1). Here Minos is clearly an official title and it is quite clear that Mino-s and our Manu are the same words.

I, therefore, think that Manu, at any rate in our very early tradition, had the sense of generic title of a king and therefore every king would be entitled Manu.¹

But, though it is, thus, possible that Manu was a generic title for a king and therefore each and every king would be called Manu, our Puranic tradition seems to have selected some 14 kings for being designated by this term. In fact, a study of the names of these 14 Manus reveals certain matters of historical importance. It is found that whereas the first 7 or 8 Manus were historical personages, the last 7 or 6 Manus were not historical. Let us see how the matter stands.

All the Purāṇas are unanimous in naming the first eight Manus thus: Svayambhū, Svarociṣ, Uttama, Tamas, Revat, Cakṣuṣa, Vaivasvata and Sāvarni. But there is some divergence seen in the names of the next six Manus. I shall, therefore, quote relevant passages from the Purāṇas.

1. Compare उपरोक्त विवेचनसे हम इस परिणाम पर पहुँचे हैं कि मनु नाम कोई व्यक्तिविशेष नहीं हुआ, अपि तु यह एक उपाधिवाचक शब्द है, यह उपाधि अति प्राचीन कालमें प्रतापी तथा विजयी राजाओं अथवा नेताओं को दी जाती थी, यही कारण है कि जैन शास्त्रोंमें श्री ऋषभदेवजी तथा भरतजी को मनुकी उपाधि दी गई है

भारतका आदिसम्राट्, स्वामी कर्मानन्द (पृ. ४२)

Brahma Purāṇa

Two passages are quoted from this Purāṇa, for both show some divergence from each other.

(1)—(5th adhyāya)

स्वायम्भुवो मनुः पूर्वं मनुः स्वरोचिस्तथा ।

उत्तमस्तामसश्चैव रैवताथशुपस्तथा ॥ ४ ॥

वैवस्वतश्च भो विप्राः सांप्रतं मनुकृष्यते ।

सावर्णिश्च मनुस्तद्वैभ्यो रौच्यस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥

तथैव मेरुसावर्ण्यश्चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः ॥

(2)—(5th adhyāya)

सावर्णां मनवो विप्राः पञ्च तांश्च निबोधत ।

एको वैवस्वतस्तेषां चत्वारस्तु प्रजापतेः ॥ ४९ ॥

परमेष्ठिमुना विप्रा मेरुसावर्ण्यतां गताः ।

दक्षस्यैते हि दौहित्राः प्रियायाम्तनया नृपाः ॥ ५० ॥

महता तपसा युक्ता मेरुकृष्टे महौजसः ।

रुचेः प्रजापतेः पुत्रो रौच्यो नाम मनुः स्मृतः ॥ ५१ ॥

भूत्यां चोत्पादितो देव्यां भौत्यां नाम रुचेः सुतः ।

अनागताश्च सप्तैते कल्पेऽस्मिन्मनवः स्मृताः ॥ ५२ ॥

Mārkaṇḍeya (53rd adhyāya)

पठेते मनवोऽतीतास्तथा वैवस्वतेऽधुना ॥ ७ ॥

सावर्णाः पञ्च रौच्याश्च भौत्याश्चागामिनस्त्वमी ॥

Harivaṃśa (8th adhyāya)

वैवस्वतश्च कौरव्य साम्प्रतो मनुकृष्यते ।

सावर्णिश्च मनुन्तात भौत्यां रौच्यस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥

तथैव मेरुसावर्ण्यश्चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः

Naradīya (Purvārdha, 40th)

वैवस्वतो मनुश्चैव सूर्यसावर्णिश्चमः ।

नवमो दक्षसावर्णिः सर्वदेवहिते गतः ॥ २१ ॥

दशमो जह्नुसावर्णिश्चर्मसावर्णिकस्ततः ।

ततस्तु रुद्रसावर्णिः रौच्यो मनुस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ २२ ॥

भौत्यश्चतुर्दशः प्रोक्त एते हि मनवः स्मृताः ।

Kalki (3, 5)

नवमो दक्षसावर्णिर्ब्रह्मसावर्णिकस्ततः ।

दशमो धर्मसावर्णिरेकादशः स उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

स्त्रसावर्णिकस्तत्र मनुर्वै द्वादशः स्मृतः ।

त्रयोदशो मनुर्वेदसावर्णिर्लोकविश्रुतः ॥ १० ॥

चतुर्दशेन्द्रसावर्णिरेते तव विभूतयः ।

Brahmavaivarta (2, 54)

सावर्णिः सूर्यतनयो वैष्णवो मनुश्चमः ॥ ६१ ॥

नवमो दक्षसावर्णिर्विष्णुव्रतपरायणः ।

दशमो ब्रह्मसावर्णिर्ब्रह्मज्ञानविशारदः ॥ ६२ ॥

ततश्च धर्मसावर्णिर्मनुरेकादशः स्मृतः ।

धर्मिष्ठश्च वरिष्ठश्च वैष्णवस्तत्परः स्मृतः ॥ ६३ ॥

ज्ञानी च स्त्रसावर्णिर्मनुर्वै त्रयोदशः ॥ ६४ ॥

चतुर्दशो महाज्ञानी चन्द्रसावर्णिरेव च ।

Linga (7th adhyāya, पूर्वार्द्ध)

It gives the following: स्वायम्भुव, स्वरोचिष, औत्तम, तामस, रैवत, चाक्षुष, वैवस्वत सावर्णि, धर्मसावर्णि, पिशंग, अपिशंगम, शबल, वर्णक, औकारान्त अकाराय ।

Moreover, वर्णतो मनवः—धेत, पाण्डु, रक्त, ताम्र, पीत, कपिल, कृष्ण, दयाम, ध्रुव, सुध्रुव, अपिशंग, पिशंग, शबल, कालधुर ।

Let us tabulate the traditions found in these passages, as also in some other Purāṇas.

Manu	Br.	Hr.	Mk.	Nd.	Gd.	Sv.	Kl.	BrV.	Lg.	Vn.
9th	मेरुसा०	मेरुसा०	सावर्णि०	दक्षसा०	दक्षसा०	मेरुसा०	दक्षसा०	दक्षसा०	धर्मसा०	दक्षसा०
10th	"	"	"	ब्रह्मसा०	धर्मपुत्र	"	ब्रह्मसा०	ब्रह्मसा०	पिशंग	ब्रह्मसा०
11th	"	"	"	धर्मसा०	स्त्रपुत्र	"	धर्मसा०	धर्मसा०	अपिशंग	धर्मसा०
12th	"	"	"	स्त्रसा०	दक्षपुत्र	"	स्त्रसा०	स्त्रसा०	शबल	स्त्रसा०
13th	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	वेदसा०	देवसा०	वर्णक	रौच्य
14th	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	इन्द्रसा०	चन्द्रसा०	अकारान्त	भौत्य

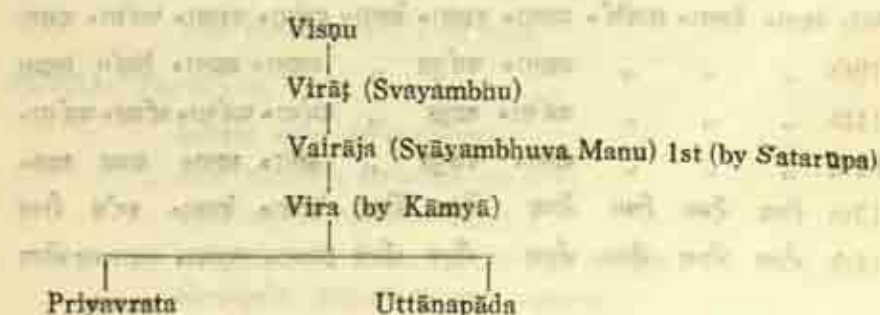
From the above table it will be clear that *Br.*, *Mk.*, *Hr.*, *Sv.*, *Vn.* and *Nd.* represent one tradition which calls the 8th to 12th Manus as *S'varni Manus*. Out of these, 8th is called by all *Sūrya Sāvarṇi*. *Mk* calls the five merely *Sāvarṇi*, while *Br.*, *Hr.*, and *Sv.*, call the four Manus from the 9th to 12th as *Meru Sāvarṇi*. The tradition preserved by *Gd.*, *BrV.*, *Kl.*, and *Nd.* is distinct. They prefix *Dakṣa* etc. to *Sāvarṇi*. *BrV.* and *Kl.* are alone in calling the 13th and the 14th Manus as *Deva Sāvarṇi* and *Candra Sāvarṇi* or as *Veda Sāvarṇi* and *Indra Sāvarṇi*, while all others call them *Raucya* and *Bhautya*. *Līṅga*, once again, differs in naming the 10th to 14th Manus. *Līṅga* has also another group of Manus, whom it introduces as '*varṇato manavaḥ*'; and evidently its *Piṣaṅga* etc. are purely later inventions. Thus we see that this table shows a good deal of divergence in naming the last six Manus.

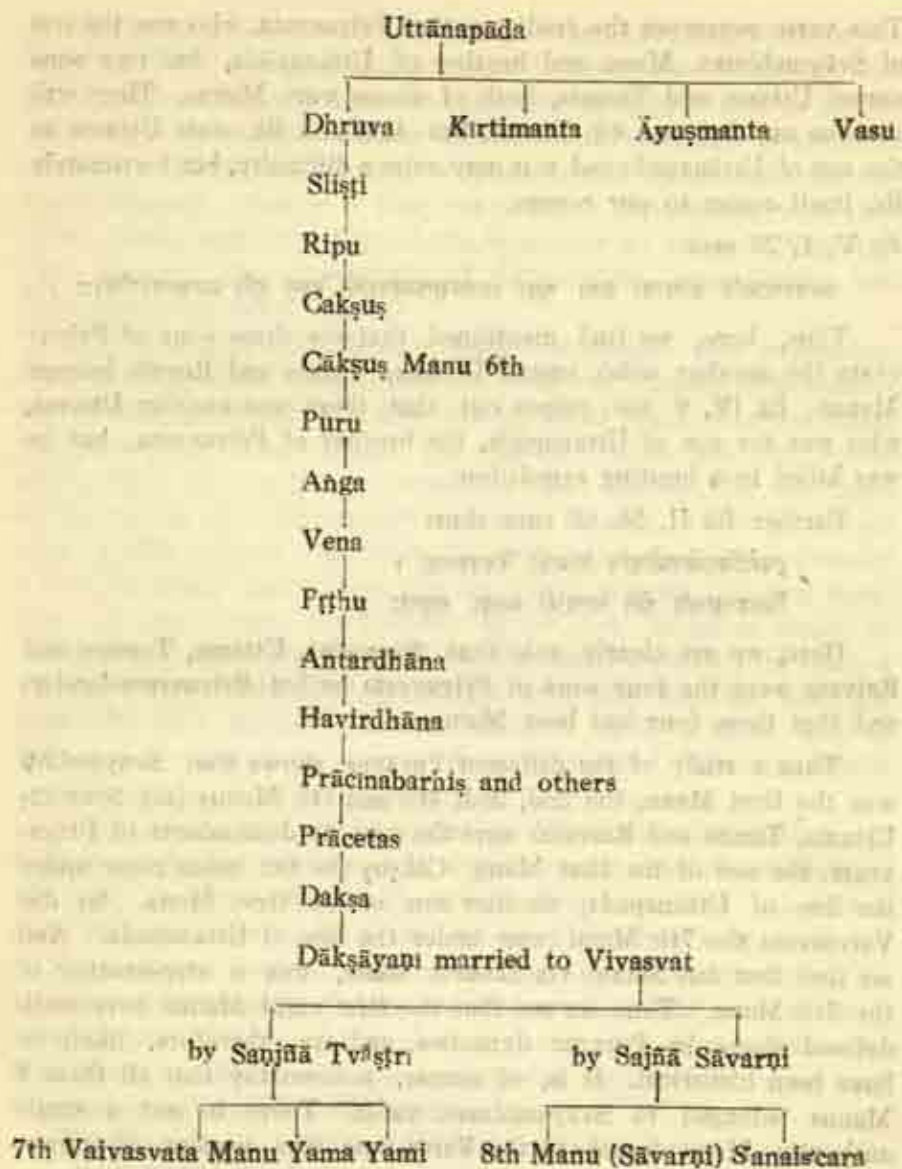
Moreover it will be observed that the names of the first seven Manus are quite distinct and are real proper names.

The last seven names are not of this type. Five of them are named after *Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata Manu*, each one being taken as the son of some god, such a process being carried to the furthest limit by *BrV.* and *Kl.*

If we are to draw any conclusion from this, we can say that the first seven names represent some old tradition, while the last seven are late in conception. There is some evidence to show that the first seven Manus are historical, while the last seven were added later for one reason or another.

In the *Purāṇas* there are various genealogies and most of them start with what the *Purāṇas* call *Svāyambhuva Vamśa*. This dynasty is given in *Brahma* (3rd) thus.





This table clearly shows the pedigree of the 1st, 6th, 7th and 8th Manus. Most of the Purāṇas have this identical table for the Svāyambhuva dynasty. But we get information about the other Manus from two late Purāṇas viz., *BrV.* and *Bg. Brv.* has the following verse (2, 54) :

प्रियव्रतमुतावन्धौ द्वौ मनु धर्मिणां वरौ ।

तौ तृतीयचतुर्थौ च वैष्णवौ तामसोत्तमौ ॥

This verse preserves the tradition that Priyavrata, who was the son of Svāyambhuva Manu and brother of Uttānapāda, had two sons named Uttama and Tamasa, both of whom were Manus. They will then be our 3rd and 4th Manus. But Agni and Bg. state Uttama as the son of Uttānapāda and this may raise a difficulty, but fortunately Bg. itself comes to our rescue.

Bg V, 1, 28 says

अन्यस्यामपि जायायां त्रयः पुत्रा आसन्नुत्तमस्तमसो रेवत इति मन्वन्तराधिपाः ।

Thus, here, we find mentioned that the three sons of Priyavrata (by another wife), named Uttama, Tamas and Revata became Manus. Bg IV, 9 also points out that there was another Uttama, who was the son of Uttānapāda, the brother of Priyavrata, but he was killed in a hunting expedition.

Further Bḍ II, 36, 65 runs thus:

स्वरोचिषोत्तमोऽपि तामसो रेवतस्तथा ।

प्रियव्रतान्वये श्रूते चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः ॥

Here, we are clearly told that Svarociṣa, Uttama, Tamas and Raivata were the four sons of Priyavrata or (of Priyavrata-family) and that these four had been Manus.

Thus a study of the different Purāṇas shows that Svayambhu was the first Manu, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Manus (viz Svarociṣa, Uttama, Tamas and Raivata) were the sons or descendents of Priyavrata, the son of the first Manu. Cakṣuṣ the 6th Manu came under the line of Uttānapāda, another son of the first Manu. So did Vaivasvata the 7th Manu come under the line of Uttānapāda. And we find that 8th Manu viz Sāvarṇi Manu, was a step-brother of the 7th Manu. Thus we see that the first eight Manus have well-defined places in Puranic dynasties and are, therefore, likely to have been historical. It is, of course, noteworthy that all these 8 Manus belonged to Svāyambhuva vaṁśa. There is not a single authentic Manu found in the Vaivasvata line (except, of course, the 7th and the 8th).

This further shows that the last six Manus are not likely to be historical. Their names are not found in any genealogy of the Purāṇas. In fact, their names seem to have been coined on the analogy of the 8th Manu. As the 8th was Sūrya (Vaivasvata) Sāvarṇi, so other six were supposed to be the Sāvarṇa sons of different Gods.

But even if the first eight Manus were historical and others were not, the question remains that if Manu was a generic title and if each and every king had the title of Manu, how is it that only eight are singled out as Manu? How is it that Svayambhū is called a Manu, but his sons Priyavrata and Uttānapāda are not called Manus? How is it that ten sons of Priyavrata were not called Manus and only four of his sons were so called? Why is it that amongst the descendents of Uttānapāda, only Cakṣuṣ and Vaivasvata are called Manus?

To these questions I have to suggest an answer. My impression, from my studies of the Purāṇas, has been that though each king of the dynasty possessed the title Manu, all of them were not called the starters of Manvantara. The reason, I think, was this. Whenever a king (i. e. a Manu) founded a new dynasty, he was taken as the starter of a Manvantara. A new dynasty would be started when a king did not rule over the ancestral territory but founded a new kingdom, apart from the one which was his ancestral kingdom. In such a case the founder of the new kingdom would be called the starter of a Manvantara, for the descendents of such a founder would start their genealogy from this founder and not from the early ancestor of that founder. It is, I think, only in this context that these 7 or 8 Manus are called Manvantarādhipa or the originators of the reckoning of a new dynasty.

Thus we can say that Svayambhū Manu founded a new kingdom and both Priyavrata and Uttānapāda ruled over the territories inherited by them. Again, 10 sons of Priyavrata also ruled over parts of their ancestral kingdom, but the four other sons went out of the ancestral regions and founded new dynasties. Similarly, in the line of Uttānapāda, Cakṣuṣ and Vaivasvata would seem to have founded new kingdoms. Therefore a starter of a Manvantara was that Manu (or king) who was a successful leader of his clan, and who had established a fresh kingdom.

Thus, so far as I can see, Manu has two senses:— (1) a generic dynastic title held by all the kings of a dynasty, (2) a special title in the sense of the starter of a new kingdom or new dynastic line.¹

1. Compare: सम्भव है इन १४ मनुओं से जिनियों के १४ मनुओं का जन्म कर अर्थात् वंशस्थापक कहते हैं, कुछ साम्य है।

भारतका आदिसम्राट् पृ. ३०—स्वामी कर्मानन्द.

Prof H. R. Kapadia informs me that *Paumacariu* of Vimala suri talks of 14 kulakaras. *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa (c. 778 A.D.) calls these kulakaras as Manus.

Now, Manvantara i. e. Manu + antara would etymologically, mean distance from Manu i. e. distance in time from a Manu. It would, therefore, have two senses corresponding to the two senses of Manu (starter of a line) i. e. the period from the founder to the last of his descendents or to that descendent in whose time the computation was made.

Therefore, in the context of purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa, vaṁśa will mean a dynastic line and Manvantara will mean a dynastic period. For instance, Svāyambhuva vaṁśa will mean the whole genealogy started from Svayambhu and Svāyambhuva Manvantara will mean period of time elapsed since the days of Svāyambhu to any given king in his dynasty.

I must, here, submit that whole mass of our Puranic evidence lends irrefutable support to the second sense of the Manvantara given above. In order to understand and fully realise this evidence, we shall, now, make a study of the number of years that is assigned to a Manvantara in our Purāṇas.

The usual number of years for a Manvantara is given as caturyuga \times 71 i. e. $43,20,000 \times 71$ mānava years or $12,000 \times 71 = 85,20,000$ divya years. But on comparing various Puranic texts, we get conflicting statements about the number of years for a Manvantara. I shall note down all such texts as show unusual points of difference about the number of years for a Manvantara. *Mārkaṇḍeya* (46th):

चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका होक्सप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं तस्य संख्या मानुषाब्देर्निबोधत ॥ ३४ ॥
विंशत् कोटयस्तु संपूर्णाः संख्याताः संख्यया द्वि ।
सप्तष्टिस्तथान्यानि नियुतानि च संख्यया ॥ ३५ ॥
विंशतिश्च सहस्राणि कालोऽयं साधिकं विना ।
एतन्मन्वन्तरं प्रोक्तं दिव्यैर्वर्षैर्निबोधत ॥ ३६ ॥
अष्टौ वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यया संख्यया युतम् ।
द्विपञ्चाशत्तथान्यानि सहस्राण्यधिकानि तु ॥ ३७ ॥

This gives us the usual computation which is

(1) Manvantara = $30,67,20,000$ mānava years = $8,52,000$ divya years.

It should be noted that the first quarter of the 37th verse has a corrupt reading. It is not 'aṣṭau varṣasahasrāṇi' but 'aṣṭau ratasahasrāṇi' as is shown by *Adhyāya* 53. verse 5 of this very Purāṇa.

Matsya (142nd)

- (१) एषा चतुर्गुण्य तु साधिका शैकसप्ततिः ।
 कृतज्ञेतादियुक्ता सा मनोरन्तर्मुच्यते ॥ २९ ॥
 मन्वन्तरस्य संख्या तु मानुषेण निबोधत ।
 एकत्रिंशत्तथा केटयोः संख्याता संख्याया द्विजैः ॥ ३० ॥
 तथा शतसहस्राणि दश चान्यानि भागशः ।
 सहस्राणि तु द्वात्रिंशच्छतान्यष्टाधिकानि च ॥ ३१ ॥
 अष्टातिथेव वर्षाणि मासाश्चैवाधिकास्तु षट् ।
 मन्वन्तरस्य संख्यैषा मानुषेण प्रकीर्तिता ॥ ३२ ॥
- (२) दिव्येन च प्रमाणेन प्रवक्ष्याम्यन्तरं मनोः ।
 सहस्राणां शतान्वाहुः स च वै परिसंख्यया ॥ ३३ ॥
 चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥

In these verses, the Purāṇa gives 31,10,32,880 years and 6 months by mānava computation and 1,40,000 by divya computation. That means that both these may represent the same number. Now in order to equate the mānava with the divya computation, let us turn divya years into mānava years.

$$1,40,000 \times 360 = 5,04,00,000 \text{ mānava years.}$$

But this figure does not tally with the first mānava figure. Therefore we have, here, two distinct views about Manvantara computation.

(1) Manvantara = 31,10,32,880—6 months (mānava)

(2) „ = 5,04,00,000 mānava years

Vāyu (7th)

- (१) अष्टाविंशतिरेवैतः केटयस्तु मुकृतात्मनाम् ।
 मन्वन्तरे तथैवस्मिंश्चतुर्दशसु वै तथा ॥ १६ ॥
 ह्यौणि केटिशतान्यासन्केटयो द्विनवतिस्तथा ।
 अष्टाधिकाः सप्तशताः सहस्राणां स्मृताः पुरा ॥ १७ ॥
- (२) (21st) मन्वन्तराणां सप्तानां कालमख्यां यथाक्रमम् ।
 प्रवक्ष्यामि समासेन श्रुते मे निबोधत ॥ १४ ॥
 केटीनां द्वि सहस्र वै अष्टौ केटिशतानि च ।
 द्विपञ्चि तथा केटयो नियुतानि च सप्ततिः ॥ १५ ॥
 कल्पार्थस्य तु संख्यायामेतत्सर्वमुदाहृतम् ।

पूर्वोक्तौ च गुणच्छेदौ वर्षांश्च लब्धमादिशेत् ॥ १६ ॥
 शतं चैव तु काटीनां काटीनामष्टसप्ततिः ।
 द्वे च शतसहस्रे तु नवतिर्नियुतानि च ॥ १७ ॥
 मानुषेण प्रमाणेन यावद्वैवस्वतान्तरम् ।
 एष कल्पस्तु विज्ञेयः कल्पार्धद्विगुणीकृतः ॥ १८ ॥
 अनागतानां सप्तानामेतदेव यथाक्रमम् ।
 प्रमाणं कालसंख्याया विज्ञेयं मतमेश्वरम् ॥ १९ ॥
 नियुतान्वष्टम्ब्याशस्तथाशीतिशतानि च ।
 चतुरशीतिश्चान्यानि प्रयुतानि प्रमाणतः ॥ २० ॥
 एतत्कालस्य विज्ञेयं वर्षांश्च तु प्रमाणतः ।
 एष मन्वन्तरे तेषां मानुषन्तिः (?) प्रकीर्तितः ॥ २१ ॥

Here, in the first view, one manvantara is given as 28,00,00,000 years and 14 manvantaras as 3,92,07,08,000 years. But if we reduce the latter figure by dividing it by 14 ($3920708000 \div 14$) we get 280050571 $\frac{3}{7}$ thus showing a difference of 50571 $\frac{3}{7}$ years between the two figures. Thus we get two distinct views here.

In the second passage, which is taken from the 21st adhyāya, there seem to be three views. According to the first view a half kalpa i.e. 7 manvantaras have 28627000000 years. Therefore dividing it by 7 we get, for one manvantara ($28627000000 \div 7$) = 4089571428 $\frac{4}{7}$ years. The second view gives 17892000000 years for 7 manvantaras, the words 'yāvadvaivasvatāntaram' suggesting that 7 manvantaras from Svāyambhuva to Vaivasvata are meant. Reducing this figure to one manvantara, we get ($17892000000 \div 7$) = 2556000000 years. The third view professes to give 6648000 years for the seven future manvantaras. This, if true, looks to be divya computation, for under no account can we have only 6648000 mānava years for the next seven manvantaras, for which the same number of years as the past seven manvantaras is prescribed in verse number 19th above. If we take these to be divya figures we may get for one manvantara ($6648000 \div 7$) = 949714 $\frac{2}{7}$ divya years and again multiplying it by 360 ($949714 \frac{2}{7} \times 360$) = 34189102.9 years.

Thus here we get five different views:

- (1) Manvantara = 280000000 mānava years
 (2) " = 280050571.4 " "

- (3) .. = 4089571428.5 mānava years
 (4) .. = 255600000
 (5) .. = 341897102.9

Narasimha (2nd)

चतुर्युगानां संख्या च साधिका ह्येकमसतिः ॥ १७ ॥

मन्वन्तरं मनोः कालः शकादीनामपि द्विज ।

अष्टौ वर्षाभहस्राणि दिव्यया संख्या स्मृतः ॥ १८ ॥

द्विपञ्चाशत्तथान्यानि सप्त चान्यानि वै मुने ।

विंशतिश्च सहस्राणि कालोऽथ साधिकं स्मृतः ॥ १९ ॥

In these verses manvantara is taken as 879000 divya years and the computation is characterised as 'sādhika'. This will give $879000 \times 360 = 316440000$ mānava years, for one manvantara.

Harivaṅśa (8th)

कृतं लेता द्वापरं च कल्यैव चतुर्गुणी ।

युगं तदेकसप्तत्या गणितं नृपमत्तम ॥ १७ ॥

मन्वन्तरमिति प्रोक्तं संख्यानाथविशारदैः ।

अथनं चापि तत्प्रोक्तं द्वेऽयने दक्षिणोत्तरे ॥

मनुः प्रलीयते वज्र समाप्ते चायने प्रभोः ॥ १८ ॥

Here manvantara which is taken as $\text{caturyuga} \times 71$ is called to be the same as Manu's *ayana*. Now in *Harivaṅśa* there is a special theory about Manu's day etc., which is as under (8th adhyāya):

10 divya years	= 1 manu's ahorātra
10 Manu's ahorātras	= 1 manupakṣa
10 manupakṣas	= 1 manumāsa
12 manumāsas	= 1 manūṛtu
3 manūṛtus	= 1 manu-ayana
2 manu-ayanas	= 1 manu year

Taking divya year to be equal to 360 mānava years, this will mean $360 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 12 \times 3 = 1,29,60,000$, i.e. in one Manu-ayana we shall get 12960000 mānava years and the same will be the number of years for a manvantara.

Brahma (5th)

युगानि रुषतिस्तानि साग्राणि कथितानि च ॥ ५४ ॥

कृतं तं तादियुगानि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ।

चतुर्दशैते मनवः कथिताः कीर्तिवर्धनाः ॥ ५५ ॥

Here a manvantara is called to be caturyuga $\times 70 + \text{sāgra}$ (which is the same as *sādhika* of others) i.e. $4320000 \times 70 = 302400000$ years.

Brahmavaivarta (5th)

सत्यं क्षेता द्वापरं च कलिञ्चेति चतुर्युगम् ।
त्रिशतैश्च षष्ट्यधिकैर्युगैर्दिव्यं युगं स्मृतम् ॥ ५ ॥
मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।

Now so far as the context of this passage warrants, the word *yuga* in *त्रिशतैश्च षष्ट्यधिकैर्युगैः* means one year. That *yuga* means one year, here, will be clear from the verse quoted below. Taking *yuga* to be one year we get,

360 years = 1 *divya yuga*; 71 *divya yugas* = 1 *manvantara* i.e. $360 \times 71 = 25560$ *mānava* years.

This computation is corroborated in clear terms in the same *Purāṇa* in *khaṇḍa* 2nd, *adhyāya* 7th :

वर्षे पूर्णे नराणां च दिव्यानां च दिवानिशम् ।
शतत्रये षष्ट्यधिके नराणां च युगे गते ॥
देवानां हि युगे क्षेयो कालसंख्याविदां मतः ॥ १६ ॥
मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।

Here a *yuga* clearly means one year. It is clear further:

मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।
एवं क्रमाद्भ्रमन्त्येव मनवश्च चतुर्दश ॥
पञ्चविंशतिसहस्रं षष्ट्यन्तशतपञ्चकम् ॥
नरमानयुगं चैव परं मन्वन्तरं स्मृतम्

This mentions a *manvantara* to have 25560 *nara yugas* i.e. *mānava* years. So according to this view of *BrV.* : *manvantara* = 25560 *mānava* years.

Bṛhannārāḍīya (5th)

एकसप्ततिसंख्यातैर्दिव्यैर्मन्वन्तरं युगैः ।
चतुर्दशभिर्नरैश्च ब्रह्मणो दिवसं युगे ॥ १५ ॥

Here *manvantara* is taken to be 71 *divya yugas* and not 71 *caturyugas* as is usual. This therefore seems to support the view expressed in *BrV.*

Āryabhaṭṭa I

काहो मनबो इ मनुयुगाऽख गतास्ते च मनुयुगञ्जना च ।

कल्पादेर्युगपादा ग च गुरुदिवसान् च भारतात् पूर्वम् ॥

This is usually taken to mean that there are 14 manus in one day of Brahmā. One manu has 72 yugas i.e. caturyugas. But about the interpretation of this quotation from Āryabhaṭṭa I have certain doubts which I have discussed elsewhere. But according to this view manvantara will have $4320000 \times 72 = 311040000$ mānava years.

After thus gathering these different views about manvantara computation, let us now tabulate the results so far obtained.

No.	Purāṇa	Divya years	Mānava years	Remarks
1	<i>Mārkaṇḍeya</i> and all others	852000	306720000	sādhikam vinā
2	<i>Matsya</i>	140000	(1) 311032880-6 (2) 50400000	
3	<i>Vāyu</i>		(1) 280000000 (2) 280050571-4 (3) 4089871428-5 (4) 255600000 (5) 341897102-9	
4	<i>Narasimha</i>	879000	316440000	sādhika
5	<i>Harivaṃśa</i>		12960000	
6	<i>Brahma</i>		30240000	sāgra
7	<i>Brahmavaivarta</i>		25560	
8	<i>Āryabhaṭṭa</i>		311040000	

This table shows 13 different views about the number of years in a manvantara. According to these views a manvantara has (1) 306720000 (2) 311032880-6 (3) 50400000 (4) 280000000 (5) 280050571-4 (6) 408,987,1428-5 (7) 255600000 (8) 341897102-9 (9) 316440000 (10) 12960000 (11) 30240000 (12) 25560 (13) 311040000 years.

This is a bewildering mass of figures. Let us see if there was a system underlying it.

Generally there are two ways for computing the years for a manvantara.

(1) Manvantara = caturyuga \times 71

" = caturyuga \times 1000 \div 14, i.e. caturyuga \times 71-42

Both these methods will yield the following number of years for a manvantara.

(1) Manvantara = caturyuga \times 71

$432000 \times 71 = 306720000$ mānava years
or 12000×852000 divya years

(2) Manvantara = caturyuga \times 71.42

$= 4320000 \times 71.42 = 308571428.5$ mānava years
or $12000 \times 71.42 = 857142.8$ divya years

It will be, at once, perceived that the first way yields the figure 30,67,20,000 which is found in most of the Purāṇas, while the figure yielded by the second method is not found anywhere.

It will further be seen from the passages cited above that whenever the Purāṇas give 306720000 years for a manvantara, they qualify the figure by 'sādhikaṃ vinā' or 'adhikaṃ vinā' i.e. the actual figure for a manvantara was something more than the one given. Then what is this sādhika?

At first we are tempted to say that sādhika is .42 as found in the above second method. If so, sādhikaṃ figure will always be 30,85,71,428.5. But it is not so, for *Narasimha Purāṇa*, which qualifies its figure expressly as sādhika, gives the figure as 31,64,00,000. It, therefore, means that sādhika as meant by the Purāṇas is not .42. How, then, can we explain this sādhika?

I have already said that, so far as I can see, manvantara had two distinct senses (which may have been sometimes confused in later days). One of its senses is the period of the whole line of a Manu. For instance, in the line of Vaivasvata Manu the period from Vaivasvata Manu to any particular king (with whom the line may have been taken as closed or in whose reign the manvantara computation may have been made) may be called a manvantara. Therefore Manvantara will be of varying lengths.

In order to understand and substantiate the fullest implication of the above statement, let us quote the usual formula for manvantara computation, which we find in almost all the Purāṇas. The line is:

चतुर्गुणं संधिता साधिका शोकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं

It will be seen that this is the same as manvantara = 30,67 20,000 + sādhika. But Purāṇas do not seem to be always uniform about this formula. For instance, *Brahma* has the following statement: (5, 54)

युगानि सप्ततिस्तानि साम्राणि कथितानि च ।

कृतसेतादियुगानि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥

and sāgra of this statement seems to be the same as sādika of other Purāṇas. So that according to this statement we get $\text{manvantara} = \text{caturyuga} \times 70 + \text{some years}$.

Again Āryabhaṭṭa I and even Pulīsa are said to have taken $\text{manvantara} = \text{caturyuga} \times 72$.

Thus we get three different formulas as under :

- (1) $\text{manvanatara} = \text{caturyuga} \times 70 + \text{some years}$
- (2) " " $\times 71 + \text{some years}$
- (3) " " $\times 72$

Let us find out the reason of selecting the figure 71 or, for the matter of that, the figures 70, 71 and 72 as given by different authorities.

Keeping in mind that one of the senses of manvantara is a ruling generation and the other the period from the founder to any given king in his line, we may speculate thus: Supposing the manvantara computation to have started with Vaivasvata Manu, at Ikṣvāku, the manvantara will be the period of one ruling generation, at Vikukṣi (the son of Ikṣvāku) the manvantara will be the period of two generations. Thus if some one took in his head to compute manvantara (i.e. the period lapsed since Manu Vaivasvata) in the reign of the 71st king of the line, he would say that manvantara was 70 ruling generations. Similarly in the reign of the 72nd king, manvantara will have 71 ruling generations and in the reign of the 73rd king it will have 72 ruling generations.

Now taking this possibility along with the above three formulas, viz., $\text{manvantara} = \text{caturyuga} \times 70$ or 71 or 72, we may say that caturyuga was taken to be equal to one ruling generation or that one ruling generation was taken to be equal to one caturyuga. Thus if the computation was made in the reign of the 71st king from Manu Vaivasvata, it would be said that $\text{manvantara} = 70 \times \text{caturyuga}$ (ruling generation) + sādika, where sādika would mean the number of years elapsed of the rule of the 71st king when the computation was made. Similarly if the computation was made in the reign of the 72nd king from Manu Vaivasvata it would be said that $\text{manvantara} = 71 \times \text{caturyuga}$ (ruling generation) + sādika, sādika meaning the number of years elapsed, of the rule of the 72nd king when the computation was made.

But then the next question will be what would be the number of years for a caturyuga, if we take caturyuga to be a ruling generation and what authority we have to take it like that. Elsewhere³ I have given all the possible caturyugas. A reference there will show that caturyuga may have 4, 40, 400, 4000, or 4800 years. Out of these, what can be the period for a ruling generation? I think that the Purāṇas have taken, whether rightly or wrongly, 40 years for one ruling generation. I know that in the modern age, this average will be seriously disputed, but at present I simply wish to suggest that Purāṇas have taken caturyuga or a ruling generation to be of 40 years.

But now taking this as correct i.e. taking 40 years for a ruling generation as well as for a caturyuga, let us see what a manvantara will be. Substituting this value we have

- (1) manvantara = caturyuga \times 70 + some years
 $40 \times 70 = 2800 + \text{some years}$
- (2) " = caturyuga \times 71 + some years
 $40 \times 71 = 2840 + \text{some years}$
- (3) manvantara = caturyuga \times 72
 $40 \times 72 = 2880 \text{ years}$

This, if true, will mean that manvantara computations were made between 2800 and 2880 years after Manu Vaivasvata.

Thus computations were made in the reigns of the 71st, 72nd and 73rd kings from Vaivasvata Manu. And then the manvantara was taken to be equal to 70, 71 or 72 ruling generations or caturyugas.

Thus it will be seen that sādika figure cannot be the same always. It will be the elapsed number of the regnal years of the king in whose reign the computation was made.

If this is properly understood, one fact will emerge out of it naturally—that a manvantara may be computed in any king's reign in a dynastic Manu's line and that accordingly the number of years for the manvantara will not be the same always. It is, therefore, not surprising that we get various computations for a manvantara.

3. See Part IV of this book, 'The Yugas.'

Now let us understand what is caturyuga. In the usual formula

चतुर्गुणानां सख्याता साधिका श्लोकसप्ततिः ।

मन्वन्तरं

it means 40 years. But the usual caturyuga has 43,20,000 years and it is according to this caturyuga that the Purāṇas calculate the years for manvantara, kalpa etc. So if we wish to turn the usual figure into our caturyuga of 40 years, we will have to divide the usual figure by 108000 ($4320000 \div 40 = 108000$). That is, if we wish to know the number of years after Manu Vaivasvata, when the computation was made, we should divide the usual figure by 1,08,000. If further, we wish to know the number of ruling generation from Manu, in whose reign the computation was made, we should divide the result obtained by dividing by 108000, by 40. Thus

(1) To get the number of years elapsed since Manu Vaivasvata, divide the usual Purāṇic figure by 108000.

(2) To get the number of ruling generation from Manu Vaivasvata, divide the result of (1) by 40 or divide the usual figure directly by (108000×40) 4320000.

Then taking these two keys let us examine the various figures (which are given according to the usual Purāṇic caturyuga of 43,20,000 years).

(1) The first number is 30,67,20,000, which when divided by 108000 will yield 2840, which again divided by 40 will give 71. Thus this computation was made in the 72nd king's reign, 2840 years after Vaivasvata Manu.

(2) Brahma figure is 30,24,00,000, which when divided by 10,8000 will give 2800, which again, divided by 40 will give 70. Thus this computation was made in the 71st king's reign, 2800 years after Vaivasvata Manu. (It is significant that *Br.* formula is $\text{Manvantara} = 70 \text{ caturyugas} + \text{sāgra}$).

(3) *Narasimha* figure, which is *sādhika*, is 316440000, which when divided by 108000, will yield 2890, which again divided by 40 will yield 72 reigns + 10 years. This will mean that this computation was made in the 11th regnal year of the 73rd king, 72 kings having already passed.

(4) Now we shall examine the figures given in *Matsya*. Over and above the usual *sādhikam vinā* figure of 306720000, it gives

two more figures for the manvantara which are, (1) 311032880.6 and (2) 140000 divya years or 50400000 mānava years. Out of these two figures, the first when divided by 108000, will give 2880.5 months, which again, divided by 40 will give 72.1. It will mean that the computation was made after five months *i. e.* in the 6th month of the 73rd king's reign.

Again dividing the above second figure (5,04,00,000) by 108000 we shall get 466.6 years, and dividing the years by 40, we shall get 11.6. This, if true, will mean that the computation was made after 26 years of the reign of the 12th king had passed.

Vāyu seems to have made the greatest confusion. Let us take the first two figures first viz., (1) 280000000 and (2) 280050571. Both these will yield:

$$(1) \quad 280000000 \div 108000 = 2592.9 = 64.6$$

$$(2) \quad 280050571 \div 108000 = 2593.5 = 64.9$$

This means that both these computations were made in the 65th king's reign *i. e.* the king-lists, at one time, must have closed at 64th king.

The third computation of *Vāyu* gives 4089571428.5. This according to our key will give $4089571428.5 \div 108000 = 37886 \div 40 = 921.6$.

I am unable to explain this in any manner. The figure is huge beyond all explanations.

Fourth computation of *Vāyu* has 255600000 years for a manvantara. It will give $200600000 \div 108000 = 2336.6 \div 40 = 59.1$.

That is, the computation was made in the reign of the 60th king.

Fifth computation of *Vāyu*, if true, gives 341897102.9, as explained by me earlier. This will give $34189710.9 \div 108000 = 79.1$. That is, the computation was made in the 80th king's reign. But the computation is not likely to be true, as it refers to the future manvantaras.

Manvantara figures as given from *Harivamśa* and *Brahma-Vaivarta* in our table, do not fall in the same class as the above figures. They are not computed on the caturyuga basis.

Thus we find that manvantara computations were made in the reigns of the 60th, 65th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd and perhaps 80th and 12th kings from Manu Vaivasvata. We have no more references

at present, but it is possible that manvantara computations were made at the end of every king's reign as I shall explain later on. But let us, for clarity's sake, make a table of the results obtained so far. Manvantara computations were made:

In which king's reign	How many years after Vaivasvata Manu
12th	466·7
60th	2366·6
65th	259·9
"	2593·4
71st	2800 + ?
72nd	2840 + ?
73rd	2880 + 5 months
73rd	2890
80th	3165·4

Out of all these computations that in the reign of 72nd king after Vaivasvata Manu, is attested by most of the Purāṇas, which suggests that there was a regular campaign of reconstruction then. Hence it is that the formula चतुर्गणां संख्याता माधिका शेषमपत्तिः सप्तवन्तरं finds place in almost all the Purāṇas.

Let us now consider why the average of a ruling generation was taken at 40 years, which no historian would think to be probable.

How can that average work out even according to the Purāṇas which take Abhimanyu as a king. Abhimanyu died long before Arjuna's death. How, then, can we take two ruling generations in such a case? Abhimanyu never ruled and yet his name is found in the genealogies. It is, therefore, wrong to talk of an average of 40 years for a ruling generation.

The caturyuga formula, as I have understood it, took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's actual regnal period. This unit of 40 years may be employed in two ways thus:

The Purāṇas usually describe *vaṁśa*, *vaṁśānucarita* and *manvantara*. Under *vaṁśa* fall genealogies i. e. lists of the names of the kings. Under *vaṁśānucarita* fall main incidents of the reigns of prominent kings. Thus *vaṁśa* and *vaṁśānucarita* preserve the name of every king, however small his regnal period might have been. But, then, what is a *manvantara*? Out of the various units

of time-measure like yuga, manvantara, kalpa etc., why is manvantara taken as one of the Purāṇapāncalakṣaṇa? I think that the manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty. Thus on the one hand the Purāṇas recorded the number of all the kings that ruled in a particular dynasty, their individual names, their individual regnal period etc., and on the other hand they also recorded the total regnal period of a dynasty. Thus the total period will go on increasing with every new king. To remember this ever-increasing total, they found out the device of computing totals of regnal periods at regular intervals. This regular interval they fixed at 40 years. Therefore over and above recording actual regnal periods of every king, they noted that the units of 40 years were over in the reigns of kings number so and so. Let us take an example. Suppose there were seven kings who ruled thus.

Kings	Individual regnal period	Caturyuga & no. of the king in whose reign that caturyuga was over
1	23	.....
2	18	1. (2nd)
3	53	2. (3rd)
4	18	.....
5	52	3 and 4. (5th)
6	18	.....
7	18	5. (7th)

It will be thus said that 1st caturyuga was over in the 2nd king's reign, 2nd caturyuga in the 3rd king's reign, 3rd and 4th caturyugas in the 5th king's reign and the 5th caturyuga in the 7th king's reign. Thus though the kings were seven, caturyugas were five and they had to remember both these. But as time would pass it would become very complicated to remember the names and serial numbers of kings and also the numbers of kings in whose reigns caturyugas were over.

So another method of caturyuga computation came into vogue. This would try to harmonise the number of kings in the *vaṇśa* with the number of caturyugas in the manvantara. It may work out thus:

If they found that the first king ruled for 28 years, and 2nd king for 11 years and the 3rd king for 25 years, they would not mention the first two kings in the lists. The ruling unit of 40 years was completed in the 3rd king's reign, therefore only the 3rd king would be mentioned in the genealogy and his number thus would become 1st, though originally 3rd. Again if the 4th king ruled 24 years, he too, would be mentioned, for in his reign also a unit of 40 years was over. Thus this method of caturyuga computation was to mention in the genealogies, only those kings, in whose reigns, the units of 40 years were over, others being omitted. It may, however, sometimes happen that the unit was over in the reign of an insignificant king and just after him or just before him had ruled a very prominent king, then that prominent king's name might be mentioned and the name of the insignificant king might be dropped, computation always proceeding on the basis of units (or caturyugas) of 40 years.

Out of these two methods, I have mentioned the first as a historic probability, but the second we find in actual use. The Purāṇas expressly declare that in the solar line they have mentioned only the prominent kings, not all the kings that ruled in that line. Compare the concluding remarks of *Vāyu* (88th):

एते ऐश्वराकुदायादा राजानः प्रायकः स्मृताः ।

वेदो प्रधाना ये तेऽस्मिन्प्राधान्येन नु कीर्तिताः ॥ २१७ ॥

Similar remark is found in almost all the Purāṇas. One remark of *Vāyu* is significant in this connection.

एतद् कथितं सर्वं समासव्यासयोगतः ॥ ११,४६१ ॥

This samāsa and vyāsa method of *Vāyu* seems to be the above 2nd method. It was the method of condensation and amplification. Let us understand it more clearly. Suppose the seven kings ruled thus:

King	Regnal period	Caturyuga over
1	23	.....
2	18	(1) [41]
3	53	(2) [53]
4	18	.....
5	52	(3) & (4) [84]
6	18	.....
7	18	(5)
	<hr/> 200	

According to this method the first king will not be mentioned but the second will be mentioned and if it is the custom of giving the years of his regnal period, they would be given as $23 + 18 = 41$ years and not 18 years. Again the third king will be mentioned and his period will be given as 53 years. At the end of the third king's reign 14 years will be left over for the next unit of 40 years. Taking these 14 years with the 18 of the fourth king, we shall get 32 years completed with the end of the 4th king's reign. So the caturyuga will not be over in his reign and therefore he too will not be mentioned in the lists. Now the 5th king has ruled for 52 years. Adding to his period, 32 years accumulated from earlier unit, his period will be of 84 years. So in his regnal period two caturyugas will be over. What should be done in such a case? In the earlier cases samāsa was resorted to by condensing two or three kings into one. In this case vyāsa (amplification) will be necessary, so that two kings will be added to the list, instead of one. Next unit of 40 years will be over at the end of the 7th king's reign, so 6th will be dropped and 7th will be mentioned.

Thus for seven kings we get a total of 200 years and five caturyugas. Therefore, according to this second method they would condense the first four kings into two by samāsa, would split up the 5th into two by vyāsa and would, once again, condense the 6th and 7th kings into one by samāsa. Thus according to this method, there will be 5 ruling units and only 5 kings will be mentioned in the lists, whereas actually there were 7 kings in 200 years. Thus the average of ruling generation, which was originally $(200 \div 7 =)$ 28.5 years would be raised up to 40 years.¹

1. And this is the nature of Puranic genealogies, as is seen below.

"I shall first point out the chief features of the Puranic records. Minor names are sometimes omitted. This is conveyed in the opening line of the chronicles of the Magadha sovereigns.

प्रधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत.

The reign-periods of the kings left out are added either to the preceding or the succeeding reign. Sometimes when figures for individual reigns differ in different Purāṇas, the aggregates of two or three neighbouring reigns agree, that is, a certain period has been redistributed over several reigns."

This is what I call Manvantara-caturyuga Method (= MCM) employed in our Purāṇas for longer chronological calculations. It was according to this MCM that, I think, Megasthenes was informed about the method of counting total regnal period by reckoning the number of kings that ruled in the intermediate period and it is this method which he so clearly enunciates by "calculation being made by counting the kings that ruled in the intermediate period." The same method is, I think, hinted at by Suleman Sodagar. That a similar method was actually used in ancient Egypt, we have already learnt from the evidence furnished by Herodotus. Thus the Indian Purāṇas, the Greek traveller Megasthenes, the Muslim traveller Suleman and the historian Herodotus—all tell us of the same method. It is, thus, beyond any doubt that such a method was employed by ancient Indian chronologists; and yet if there is any doubt left, I am going to show that all our Puranic genealogies, pre-Mbh as well as post-Mbh, solar as well as lunar, are based entirely upon this method.



CHAPTER III

MANVANTARA-CATURYUGA-METHOD

[ITS APPLICATION—PRE—KALI CHRONOLOGY]

SUCH a method like MCM, it should be admitted, is bound to be artificial. But it is only this artificial method, which can explain the unreliable nature of the Purāṇas so often complained of by our scholars. Our scholars have found that the Purāṇas often furnish conflicting or confusing evidence. "Very often they corrupt names of persons; sometimes one dynasty is mingled or interwoven into or tacked on to another; sometimes collateral successions are described as lineal; even divergent synchronisms have been recorded." This complaint about the Puranic genealogies is perfectly true. But I, here, wish to show that these confusions and contradictions, where not caused by corrupt readings, were deliberately made with a view to follow this peculiar device which I have called MCM.

MCM is certainly a method which is artificial and arbitrary. Results of such an arbitrary method are obvious. For instance, when Vyāsa re-adjusted the genealogies of solar and lunar dynasties in the Mbh days, he had to account, as we shall see later, for 2,800 or 2,840 years. For these years at the rate of a unit of 40 he would require 70 or 71 king-names. Supposing he is following the Ayodhyā line, and if in the direct Solar Ayodhyā line from Manu Vaivasvata, names of 70 or 71 consecutive descendents or successors were not available, he would, in order to give 70 or 71 names, "merge, interweave, or tack on another dynasty or another collateral branch." This, at any rate, seems to be the usual device resorted to by the Puranic chronologists.¹

1. A similar device is seen followed in the Sumerian genealogies of very early date. About these genealogies of Kish chronicle and others, it is said, "for in some cases dynasties which are listed as consecutive are in actual fact known to have been contemporary." (P. 20).

Any way, let us for some time cast aside our natural prejudice for this artificial method and see how this MCM is actually employed in the Puranic genealogies. We have already seen that there is a possibility of chronological computation being made in the days of the 71st or 72nd or 73rd king. Let us follow up this line of enquiry.

In the above discussion, while explaining the nature of MCM, I have taken caturyuga to be the same as a ruling generation or a ruling unit or a king-name (in the genealogical lists). Let us see if there is any evidence to show that caturyuga is, actually, used in this sense. In most of the Purāṇas, which give full lists of Solar and Lunar dynasties, there are certain concluding remarks made after all the dynastic lists are over. They are important. I shall quote relevant portions from these remarks from *Mt*, *Vy* and *Bd*.

In *Mt*, it is said in these concluding remarks: (273rd)

एवं राजर्षयोऽतीताः शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥ ७४

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्वर्तमानेऽन्तरे विभो ।

तेषां तु निधनोत्पत्तौ लोकसंस्थितयः स्थिताः ॥ ७५

न शक्यो विस्तरस्तेषां संतानस्य परस्परम् ।

तत्पूर्वापरयोगेन वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि ॥ ७६

अष्टाविंशत्समारब्धा गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।

एते देवगणैः सार्धं शिष्टा ये तान्निबोधत ॥ ७७

चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्वैव भविष्यास्ते महात्मनः ।

अवशिष्टा युगारब्धास्ते ततो वैवस्वतो ह्यथम् ॥ ७८

In *Vy* (99th) similar verses are found, The last two verses read thus,

अष्टाविंशद्युगारब्धास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।

एतां राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा वास्ता निबोधत ॥ ४५९

चत्वारिंशच्च ये चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ।

युगारब्धानां विशिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षये ॥ ४६०

In *Bd* (III,74) these verses read thus,

अष्टाविंशद्युगारब्धास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ॥ ३२२

एतैः राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ।

चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ॥ २२३

दुगारवयानां शिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षयः ।

It will be seen that, in one or the other manner, the text of all these three passages is corrupt. I, therefore, reconstruct the text of these two verses as under:

अष्टाविंशदुगारव्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे

एतैः राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ॥

चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ।

अवशिष्टा दुगारव्यास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षयः ॥

Thus, these two verses say that 28 yugākhyās have elapsed in Vaivasvata Manvantara and 43 more yugākhyās are to elapse now. But what is the sense of yugākhyā here? Yugākhyā here, means caturyuga, as is clear from the following passages, in all of which yugākhyā is used in the sense of caturyuga.

(1) एषा द्वादशसाहस्री दुगारव्या परिकीर्तिता । (*Mbh*, *Vana*, 188, 38)

(2) एषा चतुर्गुणख्या तु साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः । (*Mt*, 142, 29)

(3) अनुयान्ति युगाख्यां तु यावन्मन्वन्तरक्षयः । (*Bd*, II, 74, 261)

(4) एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या कविभिः कृता । (*Mk*, 46th, 31)

(5) मन्वन्तरयुगाख्यानामव्युत्पन्नाश्च सन्धयः । (*Vy*, 7th, 9)

(6) एवं चतुर्गुणख्या तु साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।

कृतप्रेतादियुक्ता सा मनोरन्तमुच्यते ॥ (*Vy*, 57th, 33)

All these passages and particularly (1), (2) and (6) make it absolutely clear that yugākhyā is a mere abbreviation of caturyugākhyā. Let us, therefore, discuss the above two verses, taking that yugākhyā means caturyuga. The verses, therefore, mean this: In the Vaivasvata Manvantara, along with these kings (etaiḥ rājarṣibhiḥ sārddham), 28 caturyugas have passed and 43 more caturyugas will pass with the future kings and there will be an end of Vaivasvata Manvantara then. There are certain points to be noted in the above statements.

(1) It is said that 28 caturyugas have gone and 43 more are yet to go and then there will be the end of Manvantara. This means that a manvantara is equal to $28 + 43 = 71$ caturyugas, a formula which we have already seen.

(2) It is said that these 28 caturyugas have passed in the Vaivasvata Manvantara. Let us, in this connection, remember that there are two Vaivasvata Manvantaras according to the Purāṇas—one Manu Vaivasvata's and the other Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata's. We shall later see which one is meant here.

(3) Computation of the Manvantara is, here, divided into 28 caturyugas and 43 caturyugas. The statement takes 28 caturyugas as having passed and 43 caturyugas as yet to pass. This would naturally mean that at one time the Puranic chronological computations had stopped after the expiry of 28 caturyugas. Is there any indication of Puranic computations having been closed at the expiry of the 28th caturyuga i.e. in the 29th caturyuga of a Manvantara? I think there is.

If, as I have suggested earlier in connection with MCM, caturyuga is equivalent to a ruling generation or a king-name in the genealogical tables, we should find some genealogical lines closed in the 29th caturyuga i.e. in the reign of a king (king-name) whose number is 29th. Let us see if such is the case or not. If we find like that it will automatically mean that caturyuga or yugākhyā in the above verses is equivalent to a king-name.

In fact, these verses very clearly say that "with these (it may also be suggested with so many i.e. 28 kings) kings", 28 caturyugas were over and 43 caturyugas were still to pass with future kings. Here, Yugākhyā or caturyuga is definitely connected with kings i.e. king-names in the lists. But let us see who are 'these kings.' The statement is very clear and shows that with the close of 28th caturyuga i.e. in the 29th caturyuga some king-lists were closed. And we find the Purāṇas actually mentioning the fact very clearly.

There occur the following verses in the concluding remarks of Vy. Bd and Mt.

ऐलब्धेष्वाकुव'शब्द सहमेदैः प्रकीर्तितौ

इद्वाकोस्तु स्मृत' क्षेत्र' सुमिश्रान्त' विवस्वतः ॥ २४४

ऐल' क्षेत्र' क्षेमकान्त' सोमवेशविदो विदुः ।

एतस्यां युगाख्यायां यतः क्षेत्रं प्रपत्स्यते ।

तथा हि कथयिष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत ॥ २४९

देवापिः पौरवो राजा ऐश्वराकुश्वर्यो मरुः ।

महायोगबलोपेतौ कलापप्राममास्वितौ ॥ २५०

एतौ क्षत्रप्रणेतारौ चतुर्विंशे (v. l. नवविंशे Mt) चतुर्थ्युगे ।

सुवर्चा नाम पुत्रस्तु ईश्वराकोस्तु भविष्यति ॥ २५१

देवापेथ सपौलस्तु (v. l. सत्यस्तु Mt) ऐलादि भविता नृप ॥ २५२

क्षत्रप्रवर्तकौ धेतौ भविष्येते चतुर्थ्युगे

(Bd, II, 74; Vy 37th; Mt 272nd)

These verses are found in all the above three Purāṇas. They record the following facts: (1) Sumitra is the last king of Aikṣvāku i. e. Solar line and Kṣemaka is the last king of Aila i. e. Lunar line. (see verse 244 above). (2) Then the Purāṇas tell us who will be the starters of new branches of these two lines 'in the present Yugaḥkhyā' (etasyāṁ Yugaḥkhyāyām). They say that Devāpi in the Aila line and Maru in the Aikṣvāku line will be the starters of their lines. This only means that though Devāpi and Maru were ancient kings (they are pre-Mbh kings), their descendents viz Suvarcā of Maru and Sapaula of Devāpi will be the starters of new branches of Aila and Aikṣvāku lines, after these lines were closed with Sumitra and Kṣemaka, who are clearly called the last kings of their lines. (3) Again it is said in the above verses that these Suvarcā and Sapaula will be the starters of new branches in the 29th caturyuga (caturviṁśe in verse no 251 of Bd is a wrong reading as is shown by Mt reading which is navaviṁśe).¹ In verse 249 it is said that the starters of new branches 'in this Yugaḥkhyā i. e. caturyuga will be now mentioned and in the verses which immediately follow (250, 251, 252) Suvarcā and Sapaula are said to be the starters of new branches in the 29th caturyuga. Combining these two statements, we can say that 'this yugaḥkhyā' or caturyuga of the 249th verse is 29th caturyuga. It would thus mean that the Puranic lists were once closed in the 29th caturyuga, because on the one hand, Sumitra and Kṣemaka are called the last kings of their lines and on the other Suvarcā and Sapaula are described as future starters of the same lines. In fact, past tense is used for the period before Sumitra and Kṣemaka and

1. Even caturviṁśe can be taken as correct, if we take this number to refer to the 'future' kings, of whom we shall talk presently.

future tense is used for *Suvarcā* and *Sapaula* and present tense is used for 'this *Yugākhyā*'; and 'this *Yugākhyā*', we have just seen, is the 29th caturyuga. Thus, it means that Puranic genealogical lists were closed in the 29th caturyuga. That is, what we expected above that the Puranic lists must have been closed in the 29th caturyuga is very clearly supported by the above verses.

But then *Sumitra* and *Kṣemaka* both must have flourished in the 29th caturyuga. In fact, they were the last kings of their lines 'in this *Yugākhyā* or caturyuga.' But if as I have said earlier, caturyuga means a king-name, the fact that *Sumitra* and *Kṣemaka* flourished in the 29th caturyuga, would mean that there names were 29th i. e. they themselves represent the 29th caturyuga or king-name in the genealogical lists. If, therefore, we can find their number to be 29th, then it would furnish a very clear proof of what I say, viz. a king-name in Puranic genealogical lists represents a unit of 40 years or a caturyuga of 40 years, or caturyuga in the formula *caturyugāpām hi saṅkhyātā* etc., is equivalent to a king-name.

But if the number of *Sumitra* and *Kṣemaka* is 29th, it must be the 29th caturyuga of a *Manvantara*, as we have already seen that the above verses talk of a whole *Manvantara* of 71 caturyugas; only they divide the *Manvantara* into 28 (past) and 43 (future) caturyugas.

Taking caturyuga to be a king-name, it would mean that before *Sumitra* and *Kṣemaka* 28 kings had passed. But of which *Manvantara* 28 kings had passed? The calculation cannot be from *Manu Vaivasvata* (i. e. of the 7th *Manvantara*), for according to our *Purāṇas* as we find them today, *Sumitra* was about 120th from *Manu Vaivasvata* and not 29th.

My explanation is this. I suggest that when 71 caturyugas or king-units (i. e. king-names) from *Manu Vaivasvata* were over, new *Manvantara* was taken as started. If so, we can say that *Sumitra's* (and therefore *Kṣemaka's* also) should have been the 29th king-name after the 71st king-name from *Manu Vaivasvata*. Then, it would be said that of this new *Manvantara* (which would be taken as started with the 72nd king-name) 28 caturyugas or king-units had passed before *Sumitra*, he himself representing 29th. If so, *Sumitra's* number, in the genealogical lists should be $71 + 29 = 100$ th from *Manu Vaivasvata* and 29th from a 72nd king-name, it

being naturally understood that the Manvantara was closed with the 71st king-name. But from which king was Sumitra 29th? When was the new Manvantara taken as started? Who was the 71st king after whom Sumitra was 29th?

Let us examine the descent of Sumitra and Kṣemaka from the Mbh war. We shall first take the Aikṣvaku line.

Starting from the close of the Mahābhārata war, we get the following genealogy of the Solar line in different Purāṇas.

No.	Vāyu	Viṣṇu	Matsya	Bhāgavata	Bhaviṣya	Garuḍa
1	Bṛhadbala	— *	—	—	—	—
2	Bṛhatkṣaya	—	0	—	Bṛhadaiśāna	0
3	Kṣaya	Urukṣaya	Kṣaya	Urukriya	Maukṣepa	0
4	Vatsavyūha	—	Vatsadroha	—	Vatsapāla	Kṣaya
5	Prativyūha	—	—	—	—	Bṛhatjaiva
6	Divākara	—	—	—	—	0
7	Sahadeva	—	—	—	—	0
8	Eṛhidaśva	—	Dhṛvāśva	—	—	0
9	Bhānuratha	—	Mahābhāga	—	—	—
10	Pratitāśva	—	—	—	0	—
11	Supratita	—	—	—	—	—
12	Sahadeva	Marudeva	—	—	—	Manudeva
13	Sunakṣatra	—	—	—	—	—
14	Kinnara	—	—	—	—	—
15	Antarikṣa	—	—	0	—	—
16	Suparṇa	—	Suṣena	—	—	—
17	Amitrajit	—	—	—	—	—
18	Bharadvāj	—	—	—	—	—
19	Dharm	—	0	—	—	—
20	Vrāta	Kṛtāñjaya	—	—	—	—
21	Ratāñjaya	—	—	—	—	—
22	Samjaya	—	—	—	—	—
23	Sākya	—	—	—	—	—
24	Suddhodana	—	—	0	—	—
			Siddhārtha	—	—	—
25	Rāhula	—	—	—	—	—
26	Prasenajit	—	—	—	—	—
27	Kṣaṇḍiraka	—	—	—	—	—
28	Kṣulika	—	—	—	—	—
29	Suratha	—	—	—	0	Sammitra
30	Sumitra	—	—	—	—	—
	30	30	29	28	29	25

* These lines show that the same name occurs in the Purāṇas.

From this table we find that according to Vāyu and Viṣṇu, Sumitra was 30th from Bṛhadbala, according to Matsya and Bhaviṣya he was 29th, according to Bhāgavata he was 28th and according to Garuḍa he was 25th from Bṛhadbala who was killed in the Mahābhārata war. Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan, who has tried to reconstruct this line, puts Sumitra as 28th from Bṛhadbala, but he admits that both Vrāta and Raṇājaya ruled separately and thus even according to Mr Pradhan, taking the ruling generations, Sumitra was 29th from Bṛhadbala.¹ I, however, suggest that according to Purāṇas, as Vāyu and Viṣṇu have it, Sumitra was 30th from Bṛhadbala. The discussion that now follows is by itself the proof of this.

Now let us take the Lunar line from Mahābhārata war. From Abhimanyu to Kṣemaka we have 26 to 30 kings (both inclusive). I shall give the table.

30	Abhimanyu	30
29	Uparikṣit	29
28	Uparikṣit's son	28
27	Uparikṣit's son	27
26	Uparikṣit's son	26
25	Uparikṣit's son	25
24	Uparikṣit's son	24
23	Uparikṣit's son	23
22	Uparikṣit's son	22
21	Uparikṣit's son	21
20	Uparikṣit's son	20
19	Uparikṣit's son	19
18	Uparikṣit's son	18
17	Uparikṣit's son	17
16	Uparikṣit's son	16
15	Uparikṣit's son	15
14	Uparikṣit's son	14
13	Uparikṣit's son	13
12	Uparikṣit's son	12
11	Uparikṣit's son	11
10	Uparikṣit's son	10
9	Uparikṣit's son	9
8	Uparikṣit's son	8
7	Uparikṣit's son	7
6	Uparikṣit's son	6
5	Uparikṣit's son	5
4	Uparikṣit's son	4
3	Uparikṣit's son	3
2	Uparikṣit's son	2
1	Uparikṣit's son	1

1. See his *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 250-258. Pargiter's text accepts 30 kings.

No.	Viṣṇu	Matsya	Garuḍa	Bhāgavata	Vāyu
1	Abhimanyu	—	—	—	—
2	Parikṣit	—	—	—	—
3	Janamejaya	—	—	—	—
4	Satānika I	—	—	—	—
5	Aśvamedhadattu	0	—	Sahasrānika	—
6	Adhisimakṛṣṇa	—	—	—	—
7	Nicaknu	Vivaksu	Kṛṣṇa	Nemicakra	—
8	Uṣṇa	Bhuri ¹	Aniruddha	0	—
9	Vicitraratha	—	—	—	—
10	Sueiratha	—	0	Kaviratha	—
11	Vṛṣṇiman	—	—	—	Dhṛtiman
12	Suśeṇa	—	—	—	—
13	Sunitha	—	—	—	Sutirtha Ruca
14	Nṛpacakṣu	—	—	—	—
15	Sukhibala	—	—	—	—
16	Pariplava	—	0	—	—
17	Sunaya	Sutapā	0	—	—
18	Medhāvi	—	—	—	—
19	Ripuñjaya	Purañjaya	Nṛpañjaya	—	—
20	Mṛdu	Urva	Hari	Durvā	—
21	Tigma	—	—	Timi	—
22	Bṛhadratha	—	—	—	—
23	Vasudāna	—	—	Sudāsa	—
24	Satānika II	—	—	Duroamana	—
25	Udayana	—	—	—	—
26	Ahinara	Vahinara	—	—	—
27	Danḍapāṇi	—	—	0	—
28	Naramitra	—	—	—	—
29	Kṣemaka	—	—	—	—
	29	28	26	27	22+8=30

1. Named as Bhūmi in a Ms. of Mt. (Jmt of Pargiter.)

It will be seen from this that from Abhimanyu, who, like Bṛhadbala, died in the Mahābhārata war, to Kṣemaka, the last of the line, we have 29 according to Vn, 28 according to Mt., 27 according to Bg, 26 according to Gd and 22 according to Vy. But in Vāyu there is a gap of eight kings from Ripuñjaya to Ahinara. Therefore, according to Vāyu there were 30 kings. Moreover, Vāyu is explicit about this. It explicitly declares that there will be 25 future kings, i. e. 25 from Adhisima to Kṣemaka (for Adhisima was the sāmprata king) both inclusive.¹ Thus even in this line, we have 30 kings from Abhimanyu, i. e. from the close of the Mahābhārata war.

Both Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu were killed in the great war. From them the last kings in their lines viz. Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 30th in number. In both these lists, Divākara and Adhisimakṣṣa are taken as sāmprata kings, i. e. Purāṇas were, at one time, closed in their days. From Divākara to Sumitra and from Adhisima to Kṣemaka there were 25 kings (both inclusive).

Thus we find that both Sumitra and Kṣemaka are 30th in number (from Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu). But our purāṇikas started the post-Mbh genealogies not with Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu but with Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit respectively. In fact, a study of our genealogies shows that our chronologists start new lists, as it were, from Parikṣit i. e. from after the Mbh war. We find the purāṇas actually computing from Parikṣit to Nanda, which positively shows that old lines and old chronological computations were closed and new lines and new chronological computations were started with the close of the Mbh war. In this light, we can say that a Manvantara was closed with Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu and a new Manvantara was started with Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit. And we find that Sumitra and Kṣemaka are the 24th king-names from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit (both included). We had earlier expected that the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka should be 29th after the 71st king-name from Manu Vaivasvata. We here, find their number to be 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit, with whom, we have just seen, a new Manvantara seems to have been started. If so, the number of Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit should be 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata and the number of Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu should be 71st from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus, in all, the number of Sumitra

1. See Vy. 99, पञ्चविंश दृष्टा श्येते भविष्या पूर्ववंशजा । २११

and Kṣemaka would be 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit and 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. This is in perfect accordance with what we had expected earlier.

But it might be objected that though in our present Purāṇas, the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka is 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit, the number of Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit is not 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata, as it should be in order to make the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. In fact, the number of Bṛhatkṣaya, in our present Purāṇas, is 92nd and that of Parikṣit is about 50. How can we explain this discrepancy? I must, here, state that I have examined the Puranic solar and lunar lines from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra and Kṣemaka and there¹ I have shown that at one time the Puranic chronologist had put Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit as 72nd kings (i. e. king-names) from Manu Vaivasvata and Sumitra and Kṣemaka as 100th from Manu Vaivasvata¹ and it was only later that for a particular reason, their number was made 92nd and 122nd respectively. In fact, our Purāṇas explicitly call Sumitra and Kṣemaka as 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. We have earlier seen that both Sumitra and Kṣemaka are taken as the last of their lines. Read in this connection, the following verse, which is found in all the Purāṇas.

ऐलवंशस्य ये कुर्यातास्तथैवेदवाक्यो नृपाः । २६४

तेषामेकशतं पूर्णं कुलाणामभिधेकिनाम् ॥

(Bd. II, 74; Vy 37th; Mt 272, 68)

This makes it absolutely clear that at one time the Purāṇas had closed both these lines with the 100th king-names. And when we connect with this the remark (found in all the three Purāṇas) that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were the last kings of their lines and the fact that these particular Aikṣavāku and Aila lines are not found continued in any of the extant Purāṇas, the conclusion becomes inevitable that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 100th in their lines.

Thus we find that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 100th from Manu Vaivasvata and 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit. This, therefore proves that Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit were, at one time, taken to be 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus, these considerations

1. See this book Part IV, Pre-Mbh Solar Dynasty.

fully support my supposition (made earlier) that the Paurāṇikas had taken one Manvantara as closed with the 71st king-name or caturyuga. This also incidentally proves that caturyuga is used in the sense of a ruling-unit or king-name.

These considerations, therefore, show that with Sumitra and Kṣemaka, the Purāṇas had taken 28 caturyugas (of the new Manvantara) as passed and 29th caturyuga as passing. But this talk of 28 caturyugas as having passed, at once, reminds us of the fact that according to our orthodox calculations (see for instance Hemādri saṅkalpa), we are in the Vaivasvata Manvantara, of which 28 caturyugas are over and 3 pādas of the 29th caturyuga are also over. In the light of the above discussions, this would mean that this orthodox calculations refer to Sumitra's period. Sumitra, we have seen, was 29th (caturyuga or king-name) of the new Manvantara. I have said that with Abhimanyu i.e. with 71st king-name a Manvantara was taken as closed. The Manvantara, which was taken as closed was the 7th Manvantara of Manu Vaivasvata. After him, with Parikṣit would start the 8th Manvantara of Sāvartī Vaivasvata. It also will be called Vaivasvata Manvantara, and it was in this second Vaivasvata Manvantara (of Sāvartī Vaivasvata) i.e. the 8th Manvantara that Sumitra is placed.¹ But at a later date, Vaivasvata Manvantara, which, in this context, meant 8th Manvantara of Sāvartī Vaivasvata, seems to have been mistaken for the 7th Manvantara of Manu Vaivasvata. That is why Vaivasvata Manvantara of the Hemādri saṅkalpa is rendered as the 7th Manvantara. But it was really the 8th Manvantara which was intended. According to this traditional calculation, 28 caturyugas and 3 pādas of the 29th caturyuga were over. That means that this calculation was made in 'this caturyuga or yugākhyā' (etasyām yugākhyāyām), which we have taken to be 29th. Now, I have taken a caturyuga to have 40 years. Therefore, a pāda will mean 10 years. Thus, this traditional calculation, which is noted in the above verses and which we follow even now in Hemādri saṅkalpa, will mean 28 caturyugas or $28 \times 40 = 1,120$ years plus

1. That this is the 8th Manvantara and not the 7th is proved from the following also. The Purāṇas, while giving the names of Saptarṣis for different Manvantaras, put the names of Vyāsa Pārāśarya, Aśvatthāmā Drauṇi and Kṛpācārya under the 8th Manvantara. All these three were cirañjivis and are likely to have lived upto the reign of Janamejaya, when the 8th Manvantara had started, the 7th eing closed with Abhimanyu or Parikṣit.

3 pādas i. e. 30 years i. e. in all 1,150 years. And as we have seen above, this calculation applies to the days of Sumitra and Kṣemaka, who are placed in the 29th caturyuga of the new Manvantara. Therefore, Sumitra and Kṣemaka flourished, according to this calculation, 1,150 years after Parikṣit, with whom the new Manvantara was taken as started.

Along with this we shall consider one other tradition also. According to Āryabhaṭṭa, not 28 but 27 Caturyugas and 3 pādas have gone. This is also true. We should remember that Āryabhaṭṭa takes a Manvantara to have 72 caturyugas and would, therefore, close the old (7th) Manvantara with Parikṣit and start the new 8th Manvantara with Janamejaya, whose number is 73rd; but we should remember that both the traditions come down to the same point i. e. to Sumitra. Thus Sumitra who is 29th from Parikṣit will be 28th from Janamejaya. Thus, according to Āryabhaṭṭa, with Sumitra, 27 (and not 28) caturyugas plus 3 pādas had elapsed. Thus both these traditions corroborate what I have said about MCM. In fact, both these traditional calculations (i. e. of Hemādri and Āryabhaṭṭa) are based upon MCM¹

We started this discussion with the verses which divide a Manvantara into 28 + 43 caturyugas. We have, now, found that they had made such a division because in the 29th caturyuga i. e. in the days of Sumitra, the Purāṇas had closed all the Aikṣvāku and Aila branches i. e. chronological calculations were closed then. We shall soon see that there was a special reason for closing the calculations at this point. But just now let us remember that as an outcome of this discussion, we have found that (1) caturyuga does mean a ruling generation or a ruling unit or a king-name and that (2) a king-name in the Puranic king-lists stands for a yugā-khyā or caturyuga. (3) We have also found that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were taken to be 100th king-names from Manu Vaivasvata, 29th king-names from Parikṣit and 28th king-names from Janamejaya.

1. That caturyuga in '71 caturyugas' means a generation is seen by the Gujarati usage 71 કુલ or પેઢી. cf. Narasinha Mehta's

કુલ એકોતર તાર્યાં રે

Here 71 કુલ or generations are used in the sense of a unit or Manvantara. Sometimes बहुतेर पेंडी is also used. I am told that Marathi, too, has a usage like बहुतेर पिढी. This, I think, is a very clear indication to show that a unit of 71 or 72 generations is meant in the computation Manvantara = 71 caturyuga.

We shall, now, see if this caturyuga or king-name had the value of 40 years, as is suggested by me, or not.

I have said earlier that according to one tradition, each of the mahāyugas had equal number of years and that each yuga i.e. mahāyuga had 1,000 years at first. If so, a mahā-caturyuga will have 4,000 years in all i.e. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali all together will have 4,000 years. Now if caturyuga (in MCM) or king-name has the value of 40 years, as I have said it has, then these 4,000 years would require $4,000 \div 40 = 100$ such caturyugas or king-names. We have found that the Purāṇas make Sumitra to be 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. This would, therefore mean that the Purāṇas take 4,000 years to have elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra, or in other words, from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra, they take four mahāyugas to have elapsed. It would, then, mean that the Purāṇas put Manu Vaivasvata at the start of Kṛtayuga and Sumitra at the close of Kaliyuga. Is there any indication to show that Manu Vaivasvata was put at the start of mahākṛta or that Sumitra was put at the end of mahākali? If we find any of these two things corroborated by the Purāṇas, we can say that a king-name in the Puranic lists has a value of 40 years.

I must, here, declare that there is ample and clear evidence in the Purāṇas to show that Kali had ended with Sumitra and Kṣemaka. Let us, therefore, see when Kali had ended according to the Purāṇas.

Purāṇas are very clear about the end of Kali. All the Purāṇas agree in saying that Kali will end and Kṛta will start with Kalki.

- (1) कल्किरूपं परित्यज्य हरिः स्वर्गं गमिष्यति ।
ततः कृतयुगं नाम पुरावत् सम्भविष्यति ॥ Ag, XVI, 10
- (2) यदावतीर्णो भगवान्कल्किर्धर्मं तिर्हरिः ।
कृतं भविष्यति तदा प्रजामृतिश्च सात्त्विकी ॥ Bg, XII, ॥ 23.
- (3) अस्मिन्नेव युगे क्षीणे संध्याश्लिष्टे भविष्यति ।
कल्किर्विष्णुयुधा नाम पाराशर्यः प्रतापवान् ॥ Vy, 98, 103-4.
- (4) पुनः कृतयुगं कृत्वा धर्मान्संस्थाप्य पूर्ववत् ।
प्रयास्ये स्वालयं विभो ॥ Kalki Purāṇa I, ii, 8.

These passages, as also Kalki Purāṇa III, 14th adhyāya, show that the Purāṇa took Kali to end with Kalki. Now Kalki Purāṇa

makes Viśākhayūpa (of the Pradyota dynasty) a contemporary of Kalki. Thus Kali ended with Viśākhayūpa also.

Again, Purāṇas uniformly declare that Kali had ended with Sumitra and Kṣemaka. See:

- (1) ईश्वराक्षामयं वंशो सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।
यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलिः ॥
- (2) क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलिः ।

Thus Kali had ended with Kalki, Viśākhayūpa, Sumitra and Kṣemaka. Therefore, they will all be contemporaries. Even from an independent study, Dr. Pradhan has shown that Viśākhayūpa, Sumitra and Kṣemaka were contemporaries. But let us proceed.

After the Saisunāga dynasty, the Purāṇas add a summary of contemporary provincial dynasties, wherein it is clearly stated that Kali had ended then. See :

- एतैः सार्वं भविष्यन्ति यावत्कलिः वृषाः परैः । and
एते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति कलिकाले महीक्षितः ।

This shows that with the close of the Saisunāga line (of which we, now,¹ know that there were only two kings), Kali had ended.

Thus the evidence is conclusive to prove that Kali had ended with Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Viśākhayūpa, Saisunāga and Kalki, incidentally also proving their contemporaneity and justifying Dr. Pradhan's results.

I have earlier, said² that each mahāyuga had at first 1000 years and then had 1200 years. This I had said by showing that Sumitra and Kṣemaka, whose present number in the Purāṇas, is about 125th from Manu Vaivasvata, were originally 100th kings from Manu Vaivasvata, and 25th from the 'sāmprata' kings, and by showing that each number represented a unit of 40 years. I shall show here how unequivocally do the Purāṇas support such a stand.

1. See "Chronology of Kali Dynasties" in *Poona Orientalist* Oct. 1943.

2. See also MCM in *ABORI*, Silver Jubilee Number.

In the present *Purāṇas* a summary of contemporary provincial dynasties is found placed just before the Nandas and just after the Śaśunāgas. Pargiter's text is this.¹

एतैः सार्धं भविष्यन्ति तावत्कालं (v. 1. यावत्कलिः) नृपाः परे ।
 तुल्यकालं भविष्यन्ति सर्वे ह्येते महीक्षिताः ॥
 ऐश्वराकवधनुर्विशत्पाण्ड्यालाः सप्तविंशतिः ।
 काशेयास्तु चतुर्विंशदष्टाविंशतिर्हृदयाः ।
 कलिं गार्ध्वेव द्वात्रिंशदश्मकाः पञ्चविंशतिः ॥
 कुरवश्चापि षट्त्रिंशदष्टाविंशतिः मैथिलाः ।
 शूरसेनास्त्रयोविंशत् वीतिहोत्राश्च विंशतिः ॥
 एते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति एककालं (v. 1. कलिकाले) महीक्षिताः ।

This gives us the information that during the Kaliyuga, along with the Magadha kings (of the Bārhadratha, Pradyota and Śaśunāga dynasties) the following dynasties will have the following number of kings, viz. Aikṣvākus 24, Pāṇḍās 27, Kāśeyas 24, Haihayas 28, Kālīngas 32, Āśmakas 25, Kurus 36, Māthilas 28, Śurasenas 23 and Vitihoṭras 20. Here we find different numbers of kings for different dynasties for the same period. But if my theory of MCM is correct, there must be the same number of kings or king-units for all the contemporary dynasties for a given period, which, here, is the duration of the Kaliyuga. And I find that in the case of most of the above dynasties there are different readings in the *Purāṇas*, which are rejected by Pargiter, but according to which, the number is either 24 or 25. I find that according to one or the other Ms., six (Aikṣvāku, Pāṇḍāla, Kāśeya, Haihaya, Kālīnga and Āśmaka) out of ten dynasties, have either 24 or 25, whereas Kurus are 26, Māthilas 28, Śurasenas 23, and Vitihoṭras 20 in number. But in fact, they should all be 24, if we exclude the 'sāmprata' kings, and 25 if we include them. The figure 24 or 25 is found for six out of these ten dynasties and I have no doubt that originally the same figure either 24 or 25 was to be found for all of them. This is supported by the following:

1. But Pargiter's text does not represent the original. As is shown further in this paper, all these dynasties were given 24 or 25 kings in the Kaliyuga and in most cases we do find alternative readings which give the figure 24 or 25. Pargiter has rejected these readings evidently thinking that uniform numbers for all the dynasties is an impossibility. Probably same is the genesis of these various readings. But as I shall show later in this paper uniformity of number is actually intended by the *Purāṇas*.

Just as the above summary of contemporary dynasties occurs at the end of the Śaśunāga dynasty, there is another summary preserved, which occurs at the end of all the Solar and Lunar dynasties. I shall quote the verses.¹ *Brahmaṇḍa* II, 74 has the following verses :

ऐलवंशस्य ये रूपातास्तथैवेष्ट्वाक्बो नृपाः । 264

तेषामेकशतं पूर्णं कुलानामभिषेकिणाम् ॥

तावदेव तु भोजानां विन्तराद्विगुणः स्मृतः ॥

भोजानां द्विगुणं क्षेत्रं चतुर्धा तद्यथातथम् ।²

तेष्वतीताः समाना ये (v. l. स नामानो) द्रुवतस्तान्निबोध मे ॥

शतं वै प्रतिविन्ध्यानां शतं नागाः सहस्रहयाः ।

धुनराष्ट्राश्चैकशतमशीतिर्नमेजयाः ।

शतं च ब्रह्मदत्तानां शारिणां वीरिणां शतम् ।

ततः शतं तु पौलानां (v. l. पौलामानां, पांचालानां) शतं काशिकुशादयः ।

ततोऽपरे सहस्रं वै येऽतीताः शशबिन्दवः ॥

(v. l. तथापरे सहस्रे द्वे येऽतीताः शशबिन्दवः).

The same text is found in *Vāyu* and *Matsya* and I have noted important readings from these above. This gives us the following list of dynasties: 100 Ailas, 100 Aikṣvākus, 100 Bhojas, 100 Prativindhya, 100 Haihayas, 100 Nāgas, 100 Dhārtarāṣṭras, 80 Janamejayas, 100 Brahmaḍattas, 100 Śāris, 100 Viris, 100 Pāñcālas, or Pulomās, 100 Kāṣis, 100 Kuṣas and 1000 or 2000 Saśabindavas.

Out of the 16 dynasties given here, 14 are given 100 kings, each, only Janamejayas are said to be 80 and Saśabindavas to be 1000 or 2000. But even these two, in the original text, must have been given 100 kings.

But what period do these 100 king-units cover? These verses occur, in the present *Purāṇas* at the end of all the genealogies, and these genealogies end with the Āndhras. Do these lists of 100

1. Pargiter has wrongly understood these dynastic names as personal names. See his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 130.

2. I do not quite understand the sense of this verse. It starts by saying 'tāvadēva tu bhojānām' which would give 100 to Bhojas. But the remaining verse with its *dvigūṇa* and *caturdhā* seems inexplicable. I, however, think that the verse means that Bhojas have the same number, with two or four branches. And it is possible that these branches are Bhojas, Haihayas, Nāgas and Prativindhya. And I give 100 king-units to each of these branches.

kings come down to the end of the Āndhras? I do not think so. They give 100 Aikṣvākus and 100 Ailas. And Aikṣvākus and Ailas are definitely and finally closed by the *Purāṇas* at the end of the Kaliyuga and with Sumitra and Kṣemaka. Therefore, and also because I have shown that the numbers of Sumitra and Kṣemaka were originally 100th, I take it that these verses cover a period of 100 king-units from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra. If so, their original place must have been at the end of the Saiśunāga dynasty with which Kali ended. In fact, these verses occur in connection with the description of Kali end and Kṛta start. I shall not quote all the verses here, but any one who reads them (*Bḍ.*, II, 74, 225-8; *Vy.* II, XXXVII, 407ff and *Mt.* 272nd, 34-81) and particularly *Bḍ.* II, 74, 225, 243, 254, 256; and *Mt.* 272nd, 49, 56 etc., will have hardly any doubt left about this statement of mine. The verses are appended after the statement that Sumitra and Kṣemaka will be the last kings of their lines. That also shows that these verses originally occurred just after the close of the Saiśunāga dynasty, which closed with Sumitra and Kṣemaka as shown above. Moreover, directly appended to these verses are those verses which say that 28 yugākhyās have passed and 43 more are to pass still. This also, as I have already shown, refers to the end of Sumitra and Kṣemaka, with whom 28 yugākhyās had passed. Therefore I take that the above verses originally occurred after the Saiśunāga dynasty. Therefore according to the above verses Sumitra and other contemporaries were 100th kings.

But how can this be? Once the *Purāṇas* say that they are 24th or 25th, and now they say that they are 100th. But there is no conflict between these two statements. In fact, one calculation is for the duration of the Kaliyuga only (for which 24 or 25 kings are given) and the other calculation is for the duration of the caturyuga or mahācaturyuga (for which 100 king-units are given).

Out of these two lists—one for the Kaliyuga and the other for the mahācaturyuga—we find Aikṣvākus Pāṇcalas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kurus (or Dhārtarāṣṭras) and Maithilas (or Janamejays) to be common to both. And all these (except the Janamejayas) have 100 kings in the second list of the mahācaturyuga and therefore they should have the same number of 24 or 25 kings for the first list of Kaliyuga also. Out of the remaining dynasties, in the Kaliyuga

list, Śarasenas¹ and Vitihotras are to be taken as the same as one or the other of the four branches of Bhojas as given in the mahācaturyuga list. And all the Bhoja branches are given 100 kings, therefore these two Śarasenas and Vitihotras also should have 24 kings for the Kaliyuga. Kaliṅgas and Āśmakas are already found to have 24 or 25 kings in all the dynasties mentioned in the Kaliyuga list. It is, therefore, almost certain that the original list for the Kaliyuga had 24 or 25 kings or king-units for all the contemporary dynasties and the original list for the mahācaturyuga had 100 kings for all the contemporary dynasties.

Again see this. For the Kaliyuga they have given 24 or 25 king-units for all the dynasties and for the mahācaturyuga they have given 100 king-units for all the dynasties. This corroborates my theory of MCM, for otherwise how are we to explain all the families having the same number of kings during a long period of 25 or 100 generations? In actual practice, it is impossible that when one particular dynasty shows 25 or 100 kings for a given interval, all the other contemporary dynasties will have, for the same interval, exactly the same number of kings. This very uniformity of numbers (25 or 100) for different contemporary dynasties, shows that these numbers do not refer to the actual kings that ruled in succession but to king-units or as the *Purāṇas* call them caturyugas or yugākhyās.

And 25 kings or king-units according to MCM will give $(25 \times 40 =)$ 1,000 years for the Kaliyuga and 100 king-units, according to MCM, will give (100×40) 4,000 years for a mahācaturyuga. This, I think, demonstrates conclusively that the *Purāṇas* at one time, took a yuga to have 1,000 years and mahācaturyuga to have 4,000 years. That the Mahācaturyuga had 4,000 years is proved by *Bhāgavata* XII, 3,34. which reads:

दिव्याब्दानां सहस्रान्ते चतुर्थे तु पुनः कृतम् ।

भविष्यति वदा नृणां मन आत्मप्रकाशनम् ॥

The verse means that Kṛta will again start i.e. a caturyuga will be over after 4,000 (*caturthe sahasrānte*) years. It is certain that the word *divyābdānām* is substituted by some later writer,

1. Śarasena, who was the son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya gives the patronymic, Śarasenas. Thus śarasenas are Haihayas. See *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 266. Vitihotras also were a branch of Haihayas. See, *AIHT*, p. 267.

for words like *varṣāṇāṃ hi* For, according to the usual computation, a caturyuga has 12,000 divyābdas (not 4,000) and 4,32,00,000 mānavābdas. In no computation and in no reference do we find 4,000 divyābdas for the caturyuga. Therefore the word divyābdānām is a clear emendation here. Thus this verse very clearly says that a caturyuga i.e. a mahācaturyuga had 4,000 years (ordinary).

Now, here we get 4,000 years for a mahācaturyuga and elsewhere we get 100 king-units for a mahācaturyuga. Therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that the *Purāṇas* had taken a unit of 40 years and had represented that unit by one king-name in the genealogical lists.

Thus we find that (1) *Purāṇas* have given 25 king-units for Kaliyuga and 100 king-units for mahācaturyuga, (2) that Kaliyuga had ended with Sumitra and other contemporary kings, (3) that each yuga had 1,000 years and mahācaturyuga had 4,000 years and (4) that each of the king-names in the Puranic genealogical lists represents a time-unit of 40 years.

Now, as our king-lists start with Manu Vaivasvata and as we find that there were 100 king-units from Manu to Sumitra, it is clear that Kṛtayuga had started with Manu Vaivasvata and Kali had ended with Sumitra. Therefore from Manu to Sumitra, there had elapsed 4,000 years. And taking 5,976 B. C. as the date of Manu Vaivasvata, we get $(5,976 - 4,000 =)$ 1,976 B. C. as the date of Sumitra and others, and also as the date of the end of Kaliyuga.

Thus we find that the *Purāṇas*, at one time, took each of the mahāyugas to have 1,000 years. But I have said earlier that at a later date, a mahāyuga was taken to have 1,200 years. Let us see how this has happened.

If each of the mahāyugas had 1,000 years, Kali would start 3,000 years after Manu Vaivasvata or in terms of MCM, with the 76th king-name. 75 king-names or caturyugas from Manu Vaivasvata will bring us to the close of Dvāpara $(75 \times 40 = 3,000)$. We have taken Abhimanyu to be 71st from Manu Vaivasvata. Therefore, Aśvamedhadatta, in the Lunar line was the 75th king-name. Similarly, in the solar line Prativyūha was 75th from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus it was with Aśvamedhadatta (75th in the Lunar Hastināpura line), Prativyūha (75th in the solar line) and Nira-

mitra (75th in the Lunar Magadha line) that Dvāpara ended. Therefore Kali started with Adhisimakṛṣṇa (76th in the lunar Hastināpura line), Divākara (76th in the solar line) and Senājit (76th in the lunar Magadha line). It is, therefore, that these kings-Adhisima, Divākara and Senājit are called sāmprata kings in the Purāṇas. In fact, it seems to have been usual to close the Puranic chronological computations with the close of a yuga (or a manvantara). We find that at the close of Dvāpara (i. e. at the close of the reign of Asvamedhadatta and others) Puranic lists were closed. That is why past tense is used upto the 75th king-names, present tense (sāmprata) is used for the 76th king-name (Adhisima and others) and future tense is used for the kings following the 76th king-names. This was because Dvāpara had ended and Kali had started then. Similarly, we find that Puranic lists were closed with Sumitra and others; and we have already found a similar use of all the three tenses there also. This was because Kali had ended and new Kṛta had started then. Thus we find that from the 76th king-names (Adhisima and others) to the 100th king-names (Sumitra and others) i. e. for 25 king-names, there had been Kaliyuga of 1,000 years ($25 \times 40 = 1,000$).

The position, so far, is this. I have said that a manvantara was closed with the 71st (Abhimanyu and others) or 72nd (Parikṣit and others) king-names. But, if the manvantara was closed with the 71st and 72nd king-names, the Purāṇas must have been closed in the reign of Parikṣit (72nd) and Janamejaya (73rd). Again the Purāṇas must have been closed in the reigns of Adhisima and others (76th king-names), as Dvāpara ended then. Is there evidence for this closing of the Purāṇas twice? I think there is. We actually find *Bg.* and *Vn.* describing the genealogies from the standpoint of Parikṣit's and Janamejaya's reigns respectively and *Vy* and *Mt* from the standpoint of Adhisima's reign. (See Pargiter, *DKA* Intr.) This directly corroborates and proves all that I have said above about the Manvantara and Yugas.

But in the days of Sumitra and others i. e. at the time of the end of Kaliyuga or soon after, it seems that the Yugas, at least the Kaliyuga, over and above its historical and chronological significance, was also given religio-ethical basis. They probably thought that Kali which meant quarrel, dissension etc., should have started with the Mbh war. In fact, all the Purāṇas have a clear statement like,

यस्मिन्कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि ।

प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगं

Par. DKA p. 62.

Now, it was in the same year as Kṛṣṇa's death that Yudhiṣṭhira also died. Therefore, it means that Kaliyuga started in the year in which both Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira died. This is clearly mentioned by Bg. and Vn. Now, Yudhiṣṭhira's number is 70th from Manu Vaivasvata. Earlier we have seen that Kaliyuga (of 4000 years) had started with the 76th king-names. Here, we find that Kaliyuga started with the end of 70th king name i. e. with 71st king-name. Thus there is a difference of five king-names, $(76-71=5)$ between these two statements. Five king-names, according to MCM, will have the value of $5 \times 40 = 200$ years. Thus there will be a difference of 200 years between these two starts of Kaliyuga. In fact, we get two durations for Kaliyuga—(1) from 71st to the 100th king-name and (2) 76th to 106th king-name. First will give, according to MCM, 1,200 years and the second will give, according to MCM, 1,000 years. Thus Kali, which had actually started with 76th king-names was pushed back by 200 years and was taken to have started with the 71st king-names. Therefore Kali of 1,000 years, we shall call the real Kali and Kali of 1,200 years, we shall call the adjusted Kali. Thus we see that Kali which had 1,000 years at first, was later, taken to have 1,200 years. This is clearly recorded in the Purāṇas. All the Purāṇas have preserved the following verse.

यदा देवर्षयः सप्त मघासु विचरन्ति हि ।

तदा प्रवृत्तस्तु कलिर्द्वादशशतात्मकः ॥ Par. DKA p. 62.

Here it is said that when Saptarṣis had gone to Maghā, Kali of 1,200 years (it should be noted that the years are not characterised as divya and are therefore mānava) had started. Purāṇas are confused in their statement about when the Saptarṣis had entered Maghā as they speak of their entry in Maghā either in Yudhiṣṭhira's time or in Parikṣit's time. I have examined the whole question of the Saptarṣi Era in Part IV of this volume. Here, it will suffice to say that by the entrance of the Saptarṣis in Maghā the Purāṇas mean the end of Yudhiṣṭhira's period. Thus this statement clearly means that Kali of 1,200 years (naturally it presupposes another Kali which was not of 1,200 years and which, as we have seen was of 1,000 years) had started from the end of Yudhiṣṭhira's period i. e. from the 71st king-names.

But at this time when they made Kali to have 1,200 years instead of 1000 years, they do not seem to have taken all the Yugas to have 1,200 years. The above verse also talks of Kali (of 1,200 years) only, not of all the Yugas. That is why in order to account for these additional 200 years, they shifted the start of Kali from the 76th king-name to the 71st king-name i. e. by 5 king-names. Incidentally I may mention that this changing of Kali from 1,000 to 1,200 years by the addition of 5 king-names, proves that each king-name had the value of 40 years.

But let us understand what this change of 1,000 years to 1,200 years of Kali implies. According to the earlier calculations, each Yuga had 1,000 years. Therefore Dvāpara had ended with the 75th king-name. Thus from the 71st to the 75th king-name i. e. the first 200 years after the death of Yudhiṣṭhira were the last 200 years of Dvāpara. But when Kali was taken to have 1,200 years i. e. when it was given 200 years more, they did not insert five more king-names in between the king-names numbered 76th and 100th. Instead they included 5 king-names from 71st to 75th in the duration of Kaliyuga. This they did because they wanted to start Kali with the death of Kṛṣṇa. But this created a peculiar situation. Whereas, according to the earlier calculations, 71st to 75th king-names filled up the last 200 years of Dvāpara, now, according to this adjustment, the same 5 king-names—71st to 75th filled up the first 200 years of (the adjusted) Kaliyuga. Thus the same 200 years were taken by some as the last 200 years of Dvāpara and by others as the first 200 years of Kali. Thus, the period of these 200 years is the period of overlapping Yugas. That is why the Purāṇas expressly declare that it is impossible to separate Dvāpara from Kali. See,

युगपत्समवेतौ तौ द्विधा वक्तुं न शक्यते । Mt, 148, 38.

This clearly says that Kali and Dvāpara occur simultaneously and are so inseparably connected with one another that it is impossible to separate them. This can only mean that the period of these two yugas was an overlapping period. And we have seen above that such indeed is the case.

Thus each of the mahāyugas had, at first, 1,000 years. Then, in the second stage of the adjustment of yuga-system, only Kali i. e. mahākālī was taken to have 1,200 years and other three yugas

were kept as they were i.e. were taken to have 1,000 years each. But in the third stage of yuga-adjustment, all the four yugas were taken to have 1,200 years each. At a later stage, i.e. at a time later than Sumitra and others, chronologists saw that Kali had 1,200 years. They must have, naturally, thought that if Kali had 1,200 years and if each yuga had equal number of years, as they knew it had, then each of the four yugas should have 1,200 years and the mahā-caturyuga should have 4,800 years in all.

But for 4,800 years they should have, according to MCM, $(4,800 \div 40 =)$ 120 king-names from the start of Kṛta to the close of Kali i.e. from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra. But the number of Sumitra was 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. It had now to be made 120th. Therefore they should insert 20 king-names in the genealogies. But they cannot insert these 20 names in the post-Mbh lists as these lists had 30 names, which was just the number required for the 1,200 years of Kali. Their only course was to add 20 names in the lists of pre-Mbh period, which they did. It is therefore that we find in the present Purāṇas the number of Bṛhadbala to be 91st, and not 71st as it was earlier. How precisely this was done, I have shown in Part IV of this work.

Thus it was that each yuga came to have 1,200 years. At this time, they effected one more change also. Chronologists in the days of Sumitra and others had given 1,200 years to Kali only, but they had kept the other yugas as they were. So, now, when they gave 1,200 years uniformly to all the yugas, they had a strong tradition that each of the yugas had 1,000 years. In order to harmonise this tradition with the adjustment done by them, they said that a yuga proper had only 1,000 years, but just before and just after the yuga proper, there was a period of 100 years, which they called the period of Sandhyā and Sandhyāñśa. The fact that the period between the Sandhyā and the Sandhyāñśa was called the yuga proper is clearly noted in the following verse:

सन्ध्यासन्ध्यांशयोर्मध्ये यः कालो वर्तते दिवः ।

युगारब्धः स तु विज्ञेयः कृतत्रेतादिसंयुतः ॥ Nara II, 13.

Thus each yuga came to have 100 years (Sandhyā) + 1,000 years (yuga proper) + 100 years (Sandhyāñśa) i.e. 1,200 years in all.

Before leaving this subject of yuga-adjustment, I should say that this last stage was current upto the end of the Āndhras. But

by the start of the Guptas, they seem to have changed the proportion of yuga years from 1:1:1:1 to 1:2:3:4 and thus gave 4,800, 3,600, 2,400 and 1,200 years respectively to Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali (increasing the Sandhyā and Sandhyāñśa periods also in the same proportion): and it was later still that these years were taken to be divya years. Thus the yuga-system came to have its final form.

We entered into all this discussion to find out, if we can, the number of years that had elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age: and we have, now, seen that both according to the yuga-system of chronology and Manvantara-caturyuga method of chronology, the period from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age, covers 2,800 years (2,000 years of Kṛta and Tretā plus 800 years of Dvāpara upto Yudhiṣṭhira's death) or 2,840 (71×40) years. If we add to this 800 years of yuga-adjustment (change from 1,000 to 1,200 years for each yuga), we get 3,600 or 3,640 years for this period. Thus we get 3,640 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Somādhi (the first king of the post-Mbh Bārnadratha dynasty). And for the post-Mbh period from Somādhi to Chandragupta I, we have found two figures (1) 2,807 years according to Bht school and (2) 2,398 years according to Vy-Mt school. Adding 3,640 to both these we get ($3,640 + 2,807 =$) 6,447 and ($3,640 + 2,398 =$) 6,038 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta I's accession. But Megasthenes gives 6,451 years and Arrian 6,042 years for this period i.e. the figures of each of these exceed by 4 years the figures of the above two Puranic schools. The reason of this difference of 4 years is this that whereas the Purāṇas stop their calculations at the accession of Chandragupta I, the Greek writers stop their calculations at the time of Alexander's arrival in India. This means that Alexander came to India in the 5th regnal year of Chandragupta I. Therefore, taking 325 B.C. to be the date of Alexander's arrival in India, we get 329 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta I's accession. In other words, Puranic calculations of both the schools had stopped at 329 B.C. and Greek calculations come down to 325 B.C.

Therefore, according to these calculations, the date of Manu Vaivasvata will be $325 + 6,451 = 6,776$ B.C. or deducting 800 years of Yuga-adjustment, as we should, 5,976 B.C. Arrian's (and therefore Vy-Mt school's) calculation seems to give $325 + 6,042 = 6,367$ B.C. or $6,367 - 800 = 5,567$ B.C. as the date of Manu

Vaivasvata; but this difference of 409 years between the two dates (5976-5567=409) is apparent only. We shall soon find out that this difference is caused by a peculiar reason.

These considerations show that what the two Greek writers have said about the ancient Indian Chronology, is fully supported by our Purāṇas, even as they are to-day. We have found that the number 153 for the kings is actually found in the Purāṇas. Again, we have found that in the matter of number of years, the number of 6,451 given by Megasthenes is supported by the Bht school and the number of 6,042 given by Arrian is supported by the Vy-Mt school. We have also found that the method of counting years of regnal period from the number of kings as enunciated by Megasthenes is the same as MCM. Only one part of Arrian's statement still remains unexplained. Arrian has said that amongst the Indians there had been three republican periods. The number of years for the first period is lost, but the next two periods, according to Arrian, had 300 and 120 years each. We shall, now, see if this is true. But in doing so, we shall have to examine all the Kali and post-Kali dynasties, which we shall now do, showing, at the same time that MCM is definitely used in these Kali and post-Kali dynasties also.



CHAPTER FOUR

MANVANTARA—CATURYUGA—METHOD

[ITS APPLICATION—KALI CHRONOLOGY]

AS every student of our ancient history knows, there are four dates very important for our Puranic chronology—viz. (1) the date of the commencement of Kali, (2) date of the Mahābhārata war, (3) dates of the deaths of Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa, and (4) the date of Parikṣit's birth. (This last is important because he was a contemporary of Somādhi of the Magadha line, from whom all our Kali chronology starts.) I must make it clear that one of the reasons why our chronology is misunderstood and misconstrued at present, is the very complicated confusion which has arisen about these four dates, which have become the starting-points of various calculations.

Let us see what were the real dates of these events. I have taken Manu's date to be 5,976 B.C. Therefore the death of Yudhiṣṭhira, who was 70th, according to MCM, will be in $5,976 - (70 \times 40) 2,800 = 3,176$ B.C. Now Mahābhārata war was some 25 or 26 years earlier than Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Therefore the date of the war was $3,176 + 25 = 3,201$ B.C. Again Parikṣit was conceived during the days of the war, therefore the date of his birth was also 3,201 B.C. And taking 5,976 B.C. as the date of Manu with whom the Kṛta yuga started, we get $5,976 - 3,000 = 2,976$ B.C. as the date of the end of Dvāpara and of the beginning of Kali. Therefore the real dates of

Kali-start was 2,976 B. C.

Mbh war was 3,201 B. C.

Y's death was 3,176 B. C.

P's birth was 3201 B. C.

These are the real dates of these incidents, but later there arose a confusion about the start of Kali. It was sometimes believed that Kali started with the Mbh. war and sometimes that it started with Yudhiṣṭhira's and Kṛṣṇa's death. Again Parikṣit's birth was always associated with the Mbh. war. Therefore, any of these four dates may be mistaken for any of these four events. Thus each of these events may have four dates.

But the confusion has not ended here. As we have already seen, the beginning of Kali was pushed back by 200 years. Therefore Kali's beginning was taken from 2,976 B.C. to 3,176 B.C. Thus we get three beginnings of Kali:

The one that started in 2,976 B.C. was real.

The one that started in 3,176 B.C. was amended.

The one that started in 3,201 B.C. was misunderstood.

Now it is also possible that as there was a gap of 200 years between the starts of the real and amended Kalis, so some one may take 3,001 B. C. ($3,201 - 200 = 3,001$) as the start of Kali, taking a gap of 200 years from 3,201 B. C. Thus there will be so many possible Kali-starts.

B. C. 3,201	} misunderstood	B. C. 3,176 amended
B. C. 3,001		B. C. 2,976 real

Again at a later age when these amended 200 years were distributed as sandhyā and sandhyāṁśa, there will be the following starts of Kali possible :

B. C. 3,201, 3101, 3001, 3,176, 3,076, 2,976.

Therefore, any of these dates may be taken as the date of any of the above four events. But the confusion worst confounded follows still.

According to MCM, Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th and Abhimanyu 71st from Manu. Therefore, according to this method, Abhimanyu's death will be put in $5,976 - 2,840 = 3,136$ B. C. (But we should remember that this method is theoretical and likely to be accurate only at certain specific points and was accurate at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's death.) Now as it was known that Abhimanyu died in the Mbh war and also that Parikṣit was born when Abhimanyu died, therefore this date (3,136) may be taken also as Parikṣit's birth's date. In fact as we shall see, it is this date 3136 B. C.

which is taken as the starting point of all our Kali chronology. Thus we get two dates for Parikṣit's birth viz. 3201 B. C. (real) and 3,136 B. C. (theoretical). Adding this date 3,136 B. C. to the above six dates we get seven dates and all these may be confused with one another. Again if this 3,136 B. C. is misunderstood for the date of Mbh. war and therefore for Kali-start, there may be three more dates for Kali-start, 3,136 3,036, 2,936 B. C. Thus we get three sets for Kali :

B. C. 3,201	B. C. 3,176	B. C. 3,136
(real date for Mbh. & P's birth)	(real date of Y's death)	(theoretical date of P)
3,101	3,076	3,036
3,001	2,976	2,936

And the most important point for us to remember is this that any of these may be taken for any of the above four events viz. (1) Kali-start, (2) Mbh. war, (3) Yudhiṣṭhira's death, and (4) Parikṣit's birth, though their real dates were 2,976, 3,201, 3,106 and 3,201 B. C. respectively.

But we should understand that though there are nine possible dates for Kali-start, there will be only three possible dates for Kali-end :

(1) 3,201 3,101 3,001	(2) 3,176 3,076 2,976	(3) 3,136 3,036 2,936
<u>1,200</u> <u>1,100</u> <u>1,000</u>	<u>1,200</u> <u>1,100</u> <u>1,000</u>	<u>1,200</u> <u>1,100</u> <u>1,000</u>
2,001 2,001 2,001	1,976 1,976 1,976	1,936 1,936 1,936

Thus for the close of Kali we shall get three possible dates viz. 2,001 B. C. 1,976 B. C. and 1,936 B. C., out of which 1,976 B. C. was the real date of Kali-end.¹

Now let us understand one more point. Sumitra is put in the fourth Pāda of the 29th Caturyuga of the new Manvantara; therefore of the new Manvantara (which started after Brhadbala and Abhimanyu), $28 \times 40 = 1120 + 30$ (three padas of 10 years each)

1. But in the latest stage of yuga-adjustment they had taken 3201 B. C. (i. e. the real date of Mbh. war) to be the starting date for Kaliyuga. But they considered the period of 100 years from 3201 B. C. to 3101 B. C. as the Sandhyā period and therefore considered the Kali proper to start from 3101 B. C.; and this date has been ever since recognised as the date of Kali start and Mbh. war.

= 1150 years had passed when Sumitra ruled. But the new Manvantara started with the beginning of the 72nd Caturyuga and our amended Kaliyuga started with the 71st Caturyuga. Therefore, according to this calculation, in Sumitra's day, $1150 + 40 = 1190$ years had elapsed from Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Now amended Kali started in 3,176 B. C. Therefore Sumitra's time will be $3,176 - 1190 = 1986$. B. C. Therefore between the date of Yudhiṣṭhira and Sumitra there will be 1,190 years, between the theoretical date of Parikṣit's birth (or accession) and Sumitra there will be $3,136 - 1,986 = 1,150$ years and between Mbh. war and Sumitra there will be $3,201 - 1986 = 1215$ years.

Now before proceeding further I shall make one point clear. Earlier I have taken a gap of 25 or 26 years between Yudhiṣṭhira's death and Mbh. war i. e. I have taken so many years as Yudhiṣṭhira's regnal period. My reason for this is based upon this verse.¹

पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक्कलेः सप्त ते द्विजाः ।

मघाम्बासन् महाराजे शासत्युर्वी युधिष्ठिर ॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षेषु गतेष्वथ कलौ युगे

समाश्रयन्त्याश्लेषां मुनयस्ते शतं समाः ।

According to these verses, Saptarṣis were in Maghā for 75 years in Yudhiṣṭhira's time and they would be for 25 years more in Maghā, when they will change the nakṣatra and simultaneously both Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa would die. This division of 75 and 25 years suggests that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 25 years, he having been crowned when Saptarṣis had been in Maghā for 75 years.²

But we have a tradition that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 36 years. How is this? I think that this is due to the confusion of the 10 years of the last pāda of the 29th Caturyuga. The confusion is likely

1. G. H. Ojha in *Bhāratiya Prācīna Lipimālā* (p. 159-60) notes: काश्मिरवाले इस संवत्का (सप्तर्षि) प्रारम्भ कलियुग के २५ वर्ष पूरे होने पर (२६ वें वर्ष से) मानते हैं. Here Kali-start is taken from Mbh. war and 25 or 26 years are put between Mbh. war and Saptarṣi-start (i.e. their entry in Āśleṣā) or Y's death. This also shows that Y ruled for 25 years. For Saptarṣi era see Part IV.

2. As quoted in *Classical San. Lit.*, by Krishnamacharya p. ixviii.

to arise thus. We have seen that Sumitra is placed in 1,986 B.C. and Kali-end (real) is in 1,976 B.C. But if some one mistook 1,986 B.C. as the Kali-end, then he would put Sumitra in 1,996 B.C. Accordingly he would put the date of the Kali-start ten years earlier i.e. in 3,211 B.C. and this would bring about a difference of 35 or 36 years between Kali-start or Mbh. war and Yudhiṣṭhira's death. And this will create fresh complications.

I shall, now, show that these confusions and complications are not of my imagination, but are actually found in some of the Purāṇas. It is true that all these dates may not have started actual confusions, but some of them have. In fact it is due to the want of understanding these possible confusions and the Manvantara-Caturyuga Method that all our ancient history and chronology are most sadly wrongly constructed. Our Purāṇas have preserved, very faithfully, the most accurate chronology even to a year. I shall substantiate these remarks, by examining all the Kali dynasties upto the rise of the Guptas, which I proceed to do now.

For each of the dynasties after the Mbh war, the Purāṇas give (1) names of individual kings (2) regnal periods of these individual kings and (3) total number of kings and total regnal period of each of the dynasties. In between, twice, they give a general computation, thus (1) from Parikṣit to the Nandas and (2) from the Nandas to the end of the Āndhras.

We shall consider these details about these dynasties here. Let us take the Bārhadratha dynasty first.¹

According to Pargiter's texts (p. 13) only one ms of Mt (viz jmt) gives to this dynasty a total of 16 kings and 723 years. All others, with minor difference, give 22 or 32 kings and 1,000 years. Thus we get 16, 22 or 32 kings for this dynasty. When we count the kings, who are actually mentioned in the texts from Somādhi to Ripuñjaya (the last king of the dynasty) we find 22 names. So, the correct number is 22. Jmt gives 16, but it expressly calls these 16 king as future (bhavitāro) kings. (p. 17). Now future kings start from after Senājit who is called the sāmprata king. And Senājit is 6th from Somādhi. Therefore, upto the present king (included) we have 6 kings and there are 16 more future kings.

1. I have appended to this Chapter detailed genealogical tables from the Bārhadrathas to the Āndhras.

Thus what *Jmt* has done is to close the calculations at Senājī and start new calculations from after him. This is quite in conformity with what we have seen earlier. We have seen that the real *Dvāpara* had ended with the 75th king-names. As Senājī's number is 76th the *Purāṇas* were closed in his reign. Thus the tradition followed in *Jmt* divides the post-Mbh *Bārhadhratha* dynasty thus—5 past kings + 1 *sāmprata* king + 16 future kings upto *Ripuñjaya*. Thus even according to this calculation, we shall have 22 kings in all for this dynasty.

We have a reading which gives 32 king-names to this dynasty. Here, there are two explanations possible. (1) *dvā viṃśati* has been mistaken and wrongly copied for *dvā-triṃśat*. The corruption of *viṃśat* into *triṃśat* is so general in the *Mss* that Pargiter has made a general statement that we can take any of the two numbers, as is suitable, quite irrespective of the *Ms* evidence. I, therefore, think that this is a case of wrong reading and that the correct reading is *dvā-viṃśat* i.e. 22. (2) But if this is not granted, we may say along with Pargiter (p. 13) that this number 32 is for kings from *Bārhadhratha* (who is 10th upwards from *Somādhi*) and not from *Somādhi* to *Ripuñjaya*. In any case, it is certain that the *Purāṇas* mean to say that we should take 1,000 years for 22 king-names from *Somādhi* to *Ripuñjaya*.

Thus we get for this dynasty (1) 16 king-names for 723 years and (2) 22 king-names for 1,000 years.

Now, before I explain these figures, I shall clarify one other point. Though the *Purāṇas* give 723 or 1,000 years as the general total, it is found that if we total up the individual regnal periods (given in *DKA*), we get a total which does not tally with 723 or 1,000. But this discrepancy is apparent only. For instance, *Bd* total of the individual regnal periods of these 22 king-names is 978, but it has omitted to give the regnal period of 22 years for *Acala*, which is given in *Vy*. Thus in *Bd* the total of the individual periods will tally with the general total. Similarly, in *Vy* the total of individual periods is 997 years, which is less by 3 and this is due to taking 64 instead of 67 (*Bd* figure) for the second king-name *Srutsāramā*. *Bg* and *Vn* give the names of the kings and the grand total of the regnal years, but not the individual periods.

Mt gives 723 as the grand total for 16 future king-names. This has given rise to much corruption in the text. We should

note that the number 16 of *Mt* is for the last 16 kings; therefore its grand total will be 1000 minus the total of years of the first six names. Now the regnal periods of the first six king-names are given thus:— $58 + 64 + 36 + 46 + 56$ (*Bd*) + 23, which give 277 years in all.¹ If we deduct these 277 years from 1000, we get 723 years exactly as it is given by *Jmt*. Again this total of 723 for 16 kings tallies with the total of the individual king-names given in *Mt*, if we take 56 instead of 50 years for Sukṣatra. As it is, *Mt* total for 16 names is 717 years and if we add these 6 years, we get 723 years.

Thus these are the correct totals and the individual periods also should come to these totals. They do in one or the other *Ms* of each of the Purāṇas. If they do not, in certain *Mss* of different Purāṇas, it only means that these *Mss* are corrupt, not that the totals are corrupt.

Thus we get (1) 16 king-names for 723 years and (2) 22 king-names for 1000 years. But these figures are doubted by Pargiter and others because they give a very high average. Both give an average of 45 years ($723 \div 16 = 45.1$; $1000 \div 22 = 45$). Even, according to MCM, the average should be 40 years and not 45 years. How is this? I shall explain.

In fact, according to MCM, 723 years will require ($723 \div 40 =$) $18 + 1 = 19$ king-names and 1000 years will require ($1000 \div 40 =$) 25 king-names. If so, we have 3 names less in both these versions. Let us remember this in what follows.

Let us, now, consider the post-Mbh dynasties upto the rise of the Nandas. We have Bārhadrathas, Pradyotas and Śaiśunāgas. We get 22 king-names and 1000 years for the Bārhadrathas, 5 king-names and 138 years for the Pradyotas and 10 king-names and 360 or 362 years for the Śaiśunāgas. I must, here, say that though Pargiter has accepted 360 years for the Śaiśunāgas, the correct number for them in the present Puranic texts should be taken as 362, which is found in *Vy* and *Vn* (see *DKA*, p. 22 p. 46). Thus we get 1,500 years from the end of the Mbh war or to be strict from the death of Yudhiṣṭhira to the end of the Śaiśunāgas.

1. This naturally means that the Purāṇas were closed in the days of the Sāmprata kings (1000—723=) 277 years after Yudhiṣṭhira's death or in 3177—277=2900 B. C. i. e. in 2976 B. C., when we have seen the real Kālī had started.

Now I have shown elsewhere¹ and I shall show below that these 1,500 years contain 350 years of a kingless period, which had occurred just from Mahananda to Mahapadma. Therefore, really speaking 1,150 years and not 1,500 years had elapsed from the death of Yudhiṣṭhira to Mahananda's accession. These 1,150 years are found in the totals of these three dynasties. If we take out 350 years of this kingless period from the total of 362 years for the Saiśunāgas (for we shall later see that these 362 years contain these 350 years), we have 12 years left for Saiśunāgas; and I suggest that, in truth, Saiśunāga had ruled only for 12 years. Therefore, we get $1000 + 138 + 12$ i. e. 1,150 years in all. For these 1,150 years we should have, according to MCM, $(1,150 \div 40 =) 28 + 1 = 29$ king-names. And I have elsewhere² explained that these 1,150 years are represented by 22 Bārhadrathas, 5 Pradyotas and Saiśunāga and Mahananda (who were the only two Saiśunāgas). But since, I have realised that that is the last stage of adjustment; earlier the lists stood differently. I shall explain this position here.

Pradyotas ruled at Avanti and not at Magadha; therefore they should have no place in the Magadha lists. And I think that earlier they had actually no place in the Magadha lists. Saiśunāga list also, as it is found at present, is not what it was originally.

Scholars have rightly shown³ that out of the 10 king-names of the present Saiśunāga list, Saiśunāga and Mahananda had ruled after Bimbisāra and his descendents upto Udāyi. Therefore, we should remove these two names from their present place in the Saiśunāga list and place them at the end of that list. Again, the scholars have shown⁴ that the last two king-names of this list are mere synonyms or titles of the first two king-names. Thus we take out the last two names and put the first two names at the end of the list, just after Udāyi.

Along with this, we should remember the fact that Pradyota, the first king of the Pradyota list was a contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru. Also we should remember that Pradyota and

1. Poona Orientalist. 1943.44. *Chronology of Kali Dynasties*.

2. Ibid.

3. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*; Raychaudhari *Political History of Ancient India*; Jayswal in *JBORS*.

4. See Pradhan *CAI*.

his dynasty never ruled at Magadha. Even the Purāṇas introduce the Pradyota list with the remark

बृहद्रथेऽवन्तीतिषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तीषु

which should not be taken as 'when Br̥hadrathas, Vitihotras and Avantis had passed away' as is done by Pargiter, but as 'when Br̥hadrathas had passed away (in Magadha) and when Vitihotras had passed away at Avanti, (Pradyota came to the throne at Avanti). Therefore Pradyotas had not ruled at Magadha. The last fact which we should remember is that Śiśunāga was a contemporary of Viśākhayūpa of the Pradyota list.¹ Keeping these facts in mind, let us reconstruct the post-Mbh Magadha line thus:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------------------|
| 1-22 | king-names:— | Somādhi to Ripuñjaya |
| 22-28 | .. .. | Kṣemadhanvā |
| | | Kṣ=traujāh |
| | | Bimbisāra |
| | | Ajātasatru |
| | | Darsaka |
| | | Udayi |

And putting Śiśunāga after Udayi, we get Śiśunāga's number to be 29th from Somādhi. Now, what I think is this. At one time, the Bārhadhratha list had included the names of Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣetraujāh; and from Bimbisāra had started a new list. If so, we get the following Bārhadhrathas:— 1-22 Somādhi to Ripuñjaya + 2 Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣetraujāh i. e. 24 in all. Add to this Sahadeva who preceeded Somādhi and we get 25 Bārhadhrathas in all i. e. from no 71st (Sahadeva) to 95th (Kṣetraujāh). For these 25 Bārhadhrathas, according to MCM, we require $25 \times 40 = 1,000$ years. That is why the Purāṇas give 1,000 years to the Bārhadhrathas. Thus the uniform number of 1,000 years given to the Bārhadhrathas in all the Purāṇas shows that there were, at one time, not 22 king-names (as we find at present) but 25 king-names in that list and that at that time the names of Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣetraujāh were included in that list. Both these kings have nothing to do with the Śaiśunāgas or Bimbisāras. No Buddhistic source mentions these two names. I, therefore, think that at one time these two names formed part of the Bārhadhratha list and not of Śaiśunāga list as at present.

1. See *CAI*, Pradhan

Thus we get 25 Bārhadrahas + 4 Baimbisāras + 1 Sīśunāga. But this calculation starts with Sahadeva whose number just preceded that of Somādhi with whom (72nd number) our Kali chronology starts. Therefore, from Somādhi's accession to Mahānanda's accession, we get 29 king-names i. e. Mahānanda's accession would be $29 \times 40 = 1,160$ years later than Somādhi's accession, which we have placed in 3,136 B. C. (the start of 72nd unit). Therefore, Mahānanda's accession will be put in $3136 - 1160 = 1976$ B. C. But we have seen earlier that Puranic lists were closed after three pādas of the 29th caturyuga, and not after the whole of the 29th caturyuga was over. In other words, Mahānanda's accession will be placed earlier by one pāda i.e. 10 years i.e. in 1986 B.C.

Same result is obtained in another manner also. For the Pradyota dynasty Dr. Pradhan has shown that Ajaka was the son of Pālaka and therefore he had succeeded him at Ujjain and that Viśākhayūpa, who was 3rd had, after Pālaka's death, started ruling at Māhiṣmatī. But Viśākhayūpa had ruled longer than Ajaka and it is not unlikely if after Ajaka's death, Viśākhayūpa also got the throne of Ujjain. In that case the succession at Ujjain will be as follows: Pradyota — Pālaka — Ajaka — Viśākhayūpa.

Now, the Purāṇas say that (DKA, p. 24) there were 20 Vitihotras. We have seen just above that Pradyota came on the throne of Avanti after the Vitihotras had passed away. These Vitihotras, according to the Purāṇas, were 20 in number, and we should remember that they were 'future' Vitihotras (as what Pargiter has called the list of the early contemporaries is really the list of the kings of other countries who were contemporaries of the Magadha 'future' kings starting after number 76 i.e. Senājit). Senājit is 5th from Somādhi, so we get 5 king-names upto the sāmprata king plus we have 20 Vitihotras and plus we get 4 Pradyotas at Avanti as given above. Thus Viśākhayūpa's number will be 29th from Parikṣit or Somādhi, who were 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata.

Let us remember that these considerations have so far brought us to the conclusion that Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Sīśunāga and Viśākhayūpa—all these four were in their own lines 29th from the 72nd king-name from Manu Vaivasvata.

Thus the condition of Magadha and Avanti lines in 1986 B.C. (Mahānanda's accession) was as under:

Magadha	Avanti
1-22 Somādhi to Ripuñjaya	1-5 upto sāmprata king
23-29 Kṣemadhanvā	6-25 20 Vitihoṭras
Kṣatraujāh	26-29 Pradyota
Bimbisāra	Palaka
Ajātasatru	Ajaka
Darsaka	Viśākhayūpa
Udāyi	
Sisunāga	

This was the condition of these two lines in 1986 B. C. but an adjustment was made later. But before I proceed further I shall, here, note a very important political event that happened in 1986 B. C.

It was at this time, I think, that Kalki lived. We have, by now, seen that Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Sisunāga and Viśākhayūpa were contemporaries, being at the same step, as the number of each one of these, in his own line, was 29th of the new Manvantara i. e. from the 72nd king-name. We have also seen that Kali had ended and Kṛta had started in the days of Sumitra, Kṣemaka and Kalki. Therefore Kalki is proved to be a contemporary of Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Sisunāga and Viśākhayūpa. Even otherwise, we have a clear statement in Kalki Purāṇa that Kalki was a contemporary of Viśākhayūpa. It is described in Kalki Purāṇa that Viśākhayūpa had been an ally of Kalki and had fought with him against the former's enemies.¹ Thus Kalki also lived at C. 1986 B. C.

Part played by Kalki seems to have been like the one played by Cāpakya at a later stage. If the evidence of Kalki Purāṇa is to be relied upon, (and there is no reason whatsoever for rejecting it), Kalki had gathered all the prominent rulers of the day into a confederacy and dealt a crushing defeat to the Magadhan king. But let us see the political condition of the Northern India in that century.²

There were four or five important states then. Magadha was, of course, the imperial seat, but in the last days of the Bārhadrathas, the smaller states of Kāśi, Kosala, Vatsa and Vaisālī had

1. *Kalki Purāṇa* I, 8, III; also see my paper *Kalki—the earliest check to Ind. dhism*, *NIA*, January, 1942.

2. The following is summarised from *FHAJ* pp. 115-140.

become independent. On the western side Avanti was a very powerful state. This was the condition when Bimbisāra came to the throne. Bimbisāra contracted marriage alliances with Madra, Kōśala and Vaiśālī. He annexed Aṅga and a part of Kāśī. Between Kāśī and Kōśala there was animosity and at this time Mahākōśala of Kōśala conquered Kāśī. Kāśī was under Kōśala even in the days of Prasenajit, the son of Mahākōśala. But Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra came in direct conflict with Kāśī, Kōśala and Vaiśālī. "He not only humbled Kōśala and permanently annexed Kāśī, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī" Out of these three he defeated Vaiśālī the last and the Vaiśālī chief formed a confederacy against the Magadha king. "Chetaka of Vaiśālī called together the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśī and Kōśala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakīs" and formed a confederacy against Ajātaśatru. It seems that this confederacy lasted for about sixteen years, at the end of which period, however, Ajātaśatru was able, to win a decisive victory over the combined states. This made these three states inimical to Magadha. Ajātaśatru then, had to face Avanti which was as powerful as Magadha itself in those days. But the struggle between Avanti and Magadha was not decided in the days of Ajātaśatru. He died and his son Udāyi also had a strong enemy in the state of Avanti which "had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of western India." It also seems that Pālaka had annexed the state of Kausāmbī to Avanti. Thus at the end of the reigns of Udāyi and Pālaka, Magadha and Avanti were left face to face with each other and the contest for the mastery of the Northern India which had started with Pradyota, now became keener.

Thus when we come to Viśākhayūpa we find Avanti a very powerful state and the states of Kōśala, Kausāmbī, Kāśī and Vaiśālī all bearing a grudge against Magadha and biding their time for humbling the pride of the Magadha king.

This time, therefore, was most opportune for Kalki to have revived the confederacy which was, some time back, formed by Chetaka, but which had not been successful before the superior and mechanised forces of Ajātaśatru. In the days of the successors of Udāyi, Magadhan machinery seems to have been weakened. That is why the new confederacy formed by Kalki was able to retrieve its lost honour.

The confederacy must have started with the king Viśākhayūpa, in whose dominions Kalki was born. Kalki Purāṇa says that the

king Viśākhayūpa came to pay his homage to Kalki as soon as he was born.¹ After Viśākhayūpa, it seems that the then ruling princes of the Aikṣvāku and Aila families joined the confederacy. The Kalki Purāṇa describes that the kings Maru and Devāpi came and joined the forces of Kalki.² Now Maru belonged to the Solar line and Devāpi to the Lunar line. But both of them lived some 30 to 35 ruling generations earlier than Kalki. We have earlier seen why the names of these two kings are dragged in here. What is meant by the Purāṇa is that the contemporary kings of the Solar and Lunar lines came and joined hands with Kalki. And we know that the kings of these two lines who were contemporaries of Kalki and Viśākhayūpa were Sumitra and Kṣemaka. In fact Maru, in the Kalki, actually calls himself Sumitra.³ This proves that, after Viśākhayūpa, the next to join the confederacy started by Kalki were Sumitra and Kṣemaka. It also seems that a king named Rucirāsva (by whom may be meant a descendant of that king also), whom I am unable to identify at present, also joined the confederacy.⁴

This confederacy of four or five kings, then started its operations and though the Kalki places the humbling of the Buddhists first, I think that the allied armies first marched against a king who is named as Saśidhvaja in the Kalki. Now I think that this Saśidhvaja was none else but Śiśunāga Nandivardhana. I shall put down my reasons for this statement.

It seems that at that time Kāśi and Kośala had been fighting with one another. It seems that the king Brahmadatta of Kāśi had defeated the Kośala king.⁵ In return Mahākośala had defeated the Kāśi king. It is also said that Kāśi was under Kośala even in the days of Prasenajit, the son of Mahākośala. But in the days of Sumitra, who was a Kośala king, though both Kośala and Kāśi were inimical to Magadha, between themselves, the Kāśi king had overthrown the Kośala yoke. It was, therefore, that Sumitra with his allied armies might have thought of bringing the Kāśi king to his senses. It is said in the Kalki⁶ that the allied armies marched against Saśidhvaja, who had his capital at Bhallāṭa. Now Bhallāṭa has been identified with Kāśi.⁷ I, therefore, suggest that this was

1. *Kalki Purāṇa* I. 1.

2. *Kalki Purāṇa* III.IV.

3. See III, 4.

तस्मान्महं मां केऽपीह वृधं चापि सुमित्रकम् ॥ 8

4. *Kalki Purāṇa*.

5. *PHAL*, p. 61.

6. Fourth aṅg'a.

7. *PHAL*, p. 62.

a march against the Kāśī king who is here called Śaśidhvaja. And this Śaśidhvaja, as far as I can see from the history of the period, was Śiśunāga. All our Purāṇas say¹ that when Śiśunāga conquered Magadha, he placed his son on the Kāśī throne and he himself went and ruled at Rājagṛha (Girivraja). There can be only one meaning of this that Śiśunāga, before he conquered Magadha, ruled at Benares or Kāśī. And as according to Dr. Pradhan's showing, Śiśunāga Nandivardhana was a contemporary of Sumitra, Kṣemaka and Viśakhayāpa, the king of Kāśī, at the time of the march of Kalki's allied forces, could not have been any one else but Śiśunāga. Śiśunāga was called in popular dialect Susu Nāga² and in my opinion both Śiśunāga and Śaśidhvaja are, sanskritised forms of it. I, therefore, suggest that Śaśidhvaja and Śiśunāga are identical.

It is said in the Kalki Purāṇa³ that the allied forces marched against Śaśidhvaja, the king of Bhallāṣa city. Śaśidhvaja had a wife named Susāntā, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu and she advised her husband not to fight against Kalki, but Śaśidhvaja, like Rāvana wanted to gain cheaper mukti by becoming an enemy of Viṣṇu. So, although he knew that Kalki was Viṣṇu, he fought with the allied armies. Both the armies were strong. Allies were strong with the armies of Avanti and others. Armies of Śaśidhvaja also were strong because if Śaśidhvaja was śunāga, he is likely to have been helped by Vaisālī.⁴ The fight, according to the Kalki, was a terrible one and all the heroes of the allied armies suffered defeat and Kalki himself after a brave fight, was wounded and fell in a deep swoon; and in that condition he was carried by Śaśidhvaja to his harem so that his queen may have his *darshana*. Ultimately of course, Śaśidhvaja pledged his alliance to Kalki and married his own daughter Ramā to Kalki. This religio-devotional description shows clearly that though the federated armies were not successful against Śaśidhvaja, they were, however able to contract peace with him, whereby Śaśidhvaja agreed to lead the allied armies and join

1. Cp. *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 21.

इत्था तेषां वधः कृतस्त्वं विद्युन्मागो भविष्यति ।

वाराणस्यां सुतं स्थाप्य भविष्यति निर्विघ्नम् ॥

2. PHAL, p. 133.

3. PHAL, p. 134.

4. PHAL, p. 70.

the confederacy. Thus Kāśi and Vaiśālī were added to the confederacy and we have already seen that both these states had a longstanding grudge against Magadha. Thus, now, both Viśakhayāpa and Śasidhvaja jointly led the allied armies under the able generalship of Kalki, who, like Cāṇakya of later days, seems to have been a practical politician and an accomplished warrior.

The confederacy, thus strengthened marched against Magadha, whose capital is here called Kikāṭa¹ (which we know was identified with Magadha).² Here the names of the kings against whom the allied forces fought, are given as Jina and Śaudhodani and the opponents are generally called Bauddhas. The allied armies dealt a crushing defeat to the Magadha king. Thus the cause of the allies was fully vindicated. It was both a political and a religious conquest that they made. Buddhism met with its first check then.

This, in short, is the historical background of the Kalki incarnation.

Before I resume the thread I shall put before the readers some of the implications of the above. Though it is not recorded in the Purāṇas, it seems that after this victory, they jointly agreed to Śasidhvaja (or Śisunāga as I take him to be) being the ruler of Magadha, who, therefore, shifted himself to Rājagṛha and put his son on the throne of Kāśi, his ancestral seat. It, also seems that the people of Rājagṛha generally welcomed this change of rule and Śasidhvaja or Śisunāga was duly elected as the king of Magadha, both by his allies and by the officers and people of Rājagṛha.³ Republican traditions obtained at Kāśi, Kōśala, Vaiśālī and other places⁴ and Śisunāga who belonged to Kāśi and also to Vaiśālī, probably liked the republican idea of being elected. And after the death of Śisunāga, which seems to have occurred soon, his son Mahānandi came on the throne of Magadha.

Herein lies the triumph of Kalki, Viśakhayāpa, Śisunāga Sumitra and the whole group. Herein lies a link of our religious-political history which is so well preserved for us in the Kalki Purāṇa. And herein also lies the justification par excellence to bring out a new incarnation, to close the Kali Age and to declare the commencement of the Golden Age.

1. *PHAL*, p. 130 ff.

2. Fourth aṅga.

3. Kalki P. 1st aṅga.

4. *PHAL*, p. 132

I have placed Śiśunāga's end and Mahananda's accession in 1946 B.C. i. e. 1150 years (3136-1980) later than Parikṣit's theoretical accession. We arrive at this date in the following manner also. The Purāṇas give 1000 years to the Bārhadrathas and 138 years to the Pradyotas and then put Śiśunāga, who, I take, had ruled for 12 years. Thus we get 1,150 years in all. But in the reconstruction of the Bārhadratha Śaiśunāga and Prodyota dynasties that I have made earlier, I have taken 24 Bārhadrathas (including Kṣetrajñā and Kṣemadhanvā) from the 72nd king Somādhi, and have taken four Migadha kings from Bimbisāra to Udāyi as contemporaries of the four Pradyota kings from Pradyota to Viśākhayūpa. This contemporaneity is confirmed by the following also. Pradyotas according to the Purāṇas, ruled for 138 years and then came Śiśunāga, whom I give 12 years, so that Pradyotas together with Śiśunaga ruled for 150 years in all. Now the Buddhist chronclers who do not notice the Pradyotas at all give 150 years for Bimbisāras plus Śiśunāga. Mahāvaiśya gives 52 years to Bimbisāra, 32 to Ajātasatru, 16 to Udāyi, 8 to his two descendents, 24 to Nāga Dāsaka and 18 to Śiśunāga, thus bringing the total to 150 years upto the end of the rule of Śiśunāga. Add to this, the 1,000 years of the Bārhadrathas and we get 1,150 years from Somādhi to the end of Śiśunāga and putting Somādhi's accession in 3,136 B. C. we get Śiśunāga and Mahananda's accession in 1986 B. C.

It seems that it was in this year 1986 B. C. that the chronological calculations were made, just 10 years or one pāda of 10 years before the close of Kaliyuga. Thus we come to 1986 B. C. Now let us proceed.

Here, I must remind the reader of the passage already quoted from Arrian. According to Arrian, there were 153 kings who ruled for 6,042 years, "but among these a republic was thrice established.....and another to 300 years and another to 120 years." He clearly means that there were three republican periods out of which the last two had lasted for 300 and 120 years respectively, but the number of years for the first period is lost in the present text of Arrian's *Indica*. I suggest that this first period had lasted for 350 years and that it had occurred from the accession of Mahānanda to the accession of Mahāpadma.

The Purāṇas have recognised this period of 350 years both implicitly and explicitly. We have just now seen that Mahānanda's accession was in 1986 B. C. Therefore from Parikṣit's (theoretical)

accession to Mahānanda's accession (3136-1986 =) 1,150 years had elapsed. But we find our present Purāṇas giving 1,000 years for the Bārhadraṭhas, 138 years for the Pradyotas and 362 years for the Saiśunāgas i. e. in all 1,500 years from Parikṣit i. e. they give 350 years more: and I suggest that these 350 years are the years of Arrian's first republican period. I put this period from Mahānanda's accession to Mahāpadma's accession i. e. from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C.

This is more explicitly recorded in the Purāṇas. We have a verse which Pargiter reads thus;

महापद्मभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

the last quarter showing variants like (see DKA, p 58, fn 20, 24) (1) jneyam pañcadaśottaram (Vs) (2) jneyam pañcaśatottaram (c e j Mt, lunt bl Vs) and (3) Satam pañcadaśottaram (eVa, Bh) To these I add a possible variant like Śatam pañcāśadutturam, though it is not found in Pargiter's variants. This means that the distance between Parikṣit and Mahānanda or Mahāpadma (for the first quarter of the above verse has a variant Mahānanda for Mahāpadma) was 1,015, 1,054, 1,115 1,150 or 1,500 years. I think that here has happened a confusion between two originally distinct statements. So far as I am able to see these two statements should have been as under:

(१) महानन्दाभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

with three variants nos (1), (3) and (4) noted above. The second statement would originally read thus.

(२) महापद्मभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

With these readings before me, I think, that, here, we have an explicit statement that 1,150 years (or 1,015, 1,050, 1,115) had elapsed from Parikṣit to Mahānanda's accession and 1,500 years had elapsed from Parikṣit to Mahāpadma's accession. This would give 350 years between Mahānanda's accession and Mahāpadma's accession. And these are the 350 years of the first Republic; and

it was for adjusting these 350 years that the first three post-Mbh dynasties were given their present shape. ¹

My study of the Purāṇas has shown to me (and the matter will be clearer as we proceed) that with reference to these republican periods, there were two distinct schools. It is, of course, evident that what Arrian calls republic may mean kingless period; and kingless period would mean a period without a king, but in the case of an Imperial seat like Magadha, an absence of Imperial dynasty. I think it is used in this last sense in Arrian's statement. We know that our present Purāṇas follow the Imperial lines only. But what would they do, if there was a break in the empire? I think there were two schools. One school of the Purāṇas would record the actual Imperial dynasties and their actual total regnal periods. If, at any time, for any period there was a break in the empire i. e. if for any period the seat of empire had gone somewhere else, that period will not be recorded in this school of Purāṇas, because they recorded only the Imperial kings and dynasties and did not record the period of the gap nor the kings of that gap. But there was another school which recorded all the Imperial dynasties and their total periods. Besides this, this school took into account the total empireless period, though it did not record names of the kings that might have ruled during that period. This school quietly added this empireless period to the period of the preceding or following dynasty. According to this practice one school will add the years of the empireless period and the other will not. Our present Puranic texts, one and all, upto the Nandas, represent this second school. We find all of them adding 350 years to Śiśunāga's reign, which was of 12 years

1. I shall add one more point for consideration. Bd II. 74 has following two verses:

महानन्दाभिषेकान्तं जन्म यावत्परीक्षितः
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु हेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥ २२३
प्रमाणं वै तथा वक्तुं महापद्मोत्तरं च यत्
अन्तरं च शतान्वष्टौ षट्त्रिंशश्च समाः स्मृताः ॥ २२४
एतत्कालान्तरं भाव्यान्ध्रान्ताद्या प्रकीर्तिताः ।

This gives 1050 years from Parikṣit to Mahānanda and 836 years from Mahāpadma to Indhra—end, but does not say how much period had elapsed between Mahānanda and Mahāpadma. This, therefore, suggests a gap between Mahānanda and Mahāpadma.

only. But it is quite possible that at one stage it was not so. At that stage they will, according to the first school, say that there had elapsed 1,150 years from Parikṣit to Mahānanda's accession. They would say nothing about the empireless period of 350 years and therefore would keep the dynasties thus:— 1-24 Somādhi to Kṣatraujāh + 4 Baimbisāras + 1 Śisunāga, i. e. 29 king-units just the number necessary according to MCM. After Śisunāga came Mahānanda; and as this school would gloss over the empireless period, they would put Mahāpadma, immediately after Mahānanda. But such a stage though quite likely, is not seen in our present Purāṇas, for as I have said above, all our present Purāṇas have adjusted the empireless period of 350 years and incorporated these 350 years in the total of the Śaśunāga dynasty, which just preceded the period of 350 years. Thus it is that we find 362 years for this dynasty. And it is to account for these 362 years that the first three post-Mbh dynasties were shaped as they are to-day. Adding these 350 to 1150 we get 1,500 years from Parikṣit to Mahāpadma's accession. For 1,500 years, according to MCM, would be required $1500 \div 40 = 37 + 1$ king-units. And we have, in the present texts, 22 Bārhadrathas, 5 Pradyotas, 10 Śaśunāgas i. e. 37 king-units + 1 Mahāpadma ruling. Thus we have $37 + 1 = 38$ king-names for 1,500 years.

At this time, I think, they dove-tailed Avanti dynasty of Pradyota into the Magadha dynasty. Most probably, Avanti came under Magadha from the days of Śisunāga. If so, the Magadha and Avanti lines would stand as under:

Magadha		Avanti	
1-22	Somādhi to Ripuñjaya	1-5	kings upto samprata king
23	Kṣemadharmā	6-25	Vitihotras
24	Kṣatraujāh	26-30	Pradyotas
25-28	Bimbisāra	31	Śisunāga
	Ajātasatru	32	Kākavarṇa
	Darṣaka		(also called
	Udāyī		Mahananda)
29	Sisunāga (called Nandivardhana)		
30	Mahānanda		

Now, in order to have 38 king-names in the Magadha line they wanted $7 + 1 = 8$ names more. They had 7 names in the Avanti list

viz 5 Pradyotas + Śiśunāga and Kakavarṇa. These they bodily inserted after Ripuñjaya and thus made the total 37. These 37 king-names with Mahāpadma ruling gave them the necessary 38 names¹

Thus it was that the present Bārhadratha, Pradyota and Śiśunāga dynasties came into existence; and the foregoing considerations make it amply clear that these are entirely based on MCM.

But what we have in the present Puranic texts represents the latest stage of adjustment. This latest stage we shall presently consider, but just for the present it will be convenient to consider the question of the Nandas. Regarding the Nandas, we have two distinct traditions preserved. Purāṇas take the Nandas to be nine only, but mention only Mahāpadma and his son by name i.e. only two Nandas by name, who, in all, ruled for 100 years. According to Mahāvaiṣṇava "the sons of Kālāsoka were 10 brothers, 22 years did they reign. Afterwards the nine Nandas were kings in succession; they too reigned for 22 years." Thus according to the Purāṇas between Śiśunāga and Chandragupta Maurya ruled 9 (or 2) Nandas for 100 years, but according to Mahāvaiṣṇava between Śiśunaga and Chandragupta Maurya ruled Kālāsoka, his 10 sons and 9 Nandas i.e. in all 20 kings; and Mahāvaiṣṇava gives only 44 years for these last 19 kings. Thus the two traditions Puranic and Buddhist are at variance. We shall try to find out how this confusion has happened. Let us apply MCM.

I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B.C. and have said that there was a kingless period of 350 years from 1986 B.C. to 1636 B.C., in which year Mahāpadma came to the throne. Now according to MCM for 350 years will be required $350 \div 40 = 8 + 1 = 9$ king-names. And I suggest that for 350 years from 1986 B.C. to 1636 B.C., at one time, the names of Mahānanda and his 8 descendents were retained in the Purāṇas. Thus Mahānanda and 8 of his descendents were taken as the ruler-chiefs for this period of 350 years. But the important point to be remembered in this connection is this that the Nanda dynasty had started with Mahānanda (as the Nanda-ending of his name suggests²) and not with Mahāpadma. If so, these nine ruler-chiefs will be called nine Nandas. Let me now proceed.

1. In fact, this is the last stage of adjustment.

2. In this connection it is significant that Buddhist tradition called Nandas as Nandins, which is clearly nearer to the form Mahanandi. (see *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times* by R. K. Mookerji p. 22).

I suggest that Mahāpadma also belonged to the same Nanda family which was started with Mahānanda. But whereas Mahānanda and his descendents remained republican or as tributary chiefs to some other Imperial power, from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C.,¹ it was Mahāpadma, who, in that year, once again established the Magadhan empire. This empire established by him lasted for about 100 years (in fact for 86 years as we shall later see) and was lost by his successor to Chandragupta Maurya. Thus it was in 1550 B. C. (1636-86) that the Nanda Empire fell. Therefore for 350 years (from 1986 B. C.) Nandas ruled as feudatory chiefs and for 86 years they ruled as Imperial kings. For these $350 + 86 = 436$ years, according to MCM, will be required $436 \div 40 = 10 + 1 = 11$ king-names. These are, I think, accounted for by both the traditions thus. The Purāṇas account this period by 9 Nandas (feudatory) + 2 Nandas (Imperial) i. e. by 11 Nandas in all. Whereas originally 9 feudatory Nandas and 2 Imperial Nandas were distinct, later by a confusion, the Purāṇas said there were only 9 Nandas; but even then a clue has been preserved for us when the Purāṇas say that there were 9 Nandas in all, but are able to mention by name only two. This is quite in keeping with MCM. The names of the 9 king-units of the feudatory period will not be recorded (only the number of king-units will be recorded), but the names of the 2 Imperial units will be recorded; and this is what we actually find in the Purāṇas.

The Buddhistic tradition also preserves a clue for us when it says that after Śiśunāga came Kālāsoka and his 10 sons (better descendents). These are the 11 Nandas of the period from the end of Śiśunāga's rule (i. e. 1986 B. C.) to the accession of Chandragupta Maurya (i. e. 1550 B. C.). Mahāvāṇsa, then, should not have mentioned anything about the 9 Nandas, for 9 Nandas were really included in the above 11 Nandas.

1. This suggestion of mine that they were republican chiefs is corroborated by the following. According to a Buddhist source the founder of the Nanda dynasty (who is there called Ugrasena and according to me was Mahānanda) had, in his early life fallen in the hands of robbers and later became the leader of the robbers. He followed the policy of 'pillage is preferable to tillage.' Thus he was a robber king (see *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times* p. 31). The term robbers as used by the Greeks indicated the republican peoples, the Arāttas or Arāṣṛakās, kingless peoples. (ibid p. 6). It is in this sense that the term 'republic' seems to have been used by the Greek writer Arrian, to refer to the kingless period (robber-king's period), which started with Mahānanda—Ugrasena and ended with the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda.

This reconstruction as I have proposed here satisfactorily explains the conflicting traditions recorded in the Braumanic and Buddhistic sources regarding Nandas.

But at a later date they did not wish to give any place, in their genealogies, to the 9 feudatory chiefs of the republican period. At that time they finally adjusted the first three post-Moh dynasties as they stand now and as I have explained just before.

Let us, now, consider the Post-Moh dynasties. We have, so far seen that the first republican period of 350 years had occurred between Mahānanda and Mahāpadma. I feel that the other two republican periods of 300 and 120 years, spoken of by Arrian had occurred somewhere between the Mauryas, Suṅgas and Kāṇvas.

Usually, our Purāṇas say that the Suṅgas come immediately after the Mauryas, but it is not so. Yuga-Purāṇa, the historical chapter of the Gārgiśaṁhitā, is unequivocal in saying that there was a period of foreign rule between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas. In my edition of Yuga-purāṇa, I have dealt with this question and I reproduce the relevant portion here.

"It will be seen that according to this Purāṇa, following is the sequence of events. (1) Śāliśuka i. e. the Mauryas. (2) After the Mauryas, at Śāketa ruled seven kings in succession and at Magadha ruled, at first, the five allied governors, then anarchy, then a Saka king and then the four kings Amlāṭa and others (3) and then came Puṣyamitra Suṅga, who replaced, at Śāketa the rule of the dynasty of the seven kings and at Magadha the dynasty of Amlāṭa. (4) Then ruled 3 more Suṅga kings. (5) Then a king ruled for 10 years and (6) lastly, the Sakas overran the whole land. This can be shown as under.

Magadha	Śāketa
Śāliśuka (Mauryas)	Vijaya (Mauryas)
Yavanas (the allies)	Yavanas (the allies)
Anarchy	Seven kings
4 kings (Amlāṭa etc)	
Suṅgas (4 kings named)	
one king	
The Sakas	The Sakas

This analysis means that the Suṅgas did not immediately follow the Mauryas, but between them there was a gap caused by foreign rule or anarchy. The evidence of yuga-Purāṇa makes it clear that there was a period at Magadha between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas, during which no indigenous independent native king ruled there. In other words, it was a period of foreign rule and of disorder i. e. a kingless period.

Similarly, if YP is to be believed the Kāṇvas did not follow the Suṅgas immediately, but soon after the Suṅgas, the Sakas overran the Northern India."

I may only mention that YP puts between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas, at Saketa, seven kings i. e. seven king-units, which will mean, according to MCM, $7 \times 40 = 280$ years. And I suggest that this is the second kingless period of 300 years spoken of by Arrian.

The following, also, proves that 420 years had been taken by the Purāṇas as kingless i. e. republican in nature. According to Pargiter, Mt generally has an aggregate of 118 years for the Suṅgas, but Jmt (i. e. J Ms of Mt) reads

अष्टात्रिंशद्विका सम्यग् वर्षाणां शतपंचकम् ।

i. e. Suṅgas are given 538 years in all. This means that 420 years of the two kingless periods are here added to the Suṅgas, just as 350 years of the first republican period have been added by all the Purāṇas to the Saisunāgas. Therefore, 538 years given to the Suṅgas by Jmt can be accounted for thus. 118 for Suṅgas and 420 years for the two republican periods, one (of 300 years) before and another (of 120 years) after the Suṅgas.

Thus, we find that the three republican periods spoken of by Arrian, are actually found in our Puranic tradition. The dynastic totals given in our Purāṇas, to the Mauryas, the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas exclude these 420 years: but KR is said to have preserved another tradition. We shall, therefore, consider this question now.

Pargiter has in his DKA, the following verse.

पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुनः ।

अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ पदत्रिंशत्तु समास्तथा ॥

This means that from Mahāpadma to the end of the Āndhras (Pulomā was the last Āndhra king as given in the Purāṇas), there had elapsed 836 years. Now, our Purāṇas give the following:

Nandas	100 years
Mauryas	137
Śuṅgas	112
Kāṇvas	45
Āndhras	<u>456</u>
	850

This brings the total from Mahāpadma to the end of the Āndhras at 150 years, but it should be 836 according to the above verse. Thus there is a difference of 14 years and, I think, that the round number 100 given to the Nandas contains these 14 years. I, therefore, give 86 years to the Nandas, and thus get the total 836 from the Nandas to the Āndhra-end. This total does not include 420 years of the two republican periods. But KR has the followin.,

	Pargiter	KR	Difference
Nandas	100	100	—
Mauryas	137	315	179
Śuṅgas	112	300	188
Kāṇvas	45	85	<u>40</u>
			407
Āndhras	<u>456</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>50</u>
	850	1307	457

This shows a difference of 457 years between the two schools. If we deduct 50 years representing the difference for the Āndhras (i. e. the difference between the main Āndhras and the Āndhra-bhṛtyas), we get 407 years as the difference between the two schools from the Nandas to the Kāṇvas. Again, we have seen that the above-quoted verse says that from Mahāpadma to the end of the Āndhras, 836 years had elapsed, but the above calculation shows that one school gave 850 and the other [1307-50=] 1257 for this period. That is one school has 14 years more and the other has 421 years more. These 421 years, I suggest, represent 420 years of the two republican periods.

And I further suggest that the first school has 14 years more because it gives to the Nandas 100 instead of 86 years. The second school has distributed these 421 years thus; 14 more to the Nandas, 179 more to the Mauryas, 188 more to the Śuṅgas and 40 more

to the Kāṇvas. Thus both these calculations show that the Nandas were, at one time, given 86 years, but, now, both the schools show 100 years for the Nandas. That is, for the Nandas, both the schools have the adjusted figure, but for the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, one has the actual and the other has the adjusted figures. The actual figure for the Nandas is lost. It may be 86 as we have seen above.

All these considerations show that the two periods of 420 years ($300 + 120$) had actually happened and though there is no direct mention in the Purāṇas of these 420 years, there are sufficient indications to prove their existence.

And finally we shall see if MCM is applied to the kings from the Mauryas to the Āndhras. As the figures stand in the Purāṇas, average rule of these kings seems to be lower than normal. From the Mauryas to the Āndhras, there are in all $9 + 10 + 4 + 30 = 53$ kings, for whom a total of 750 years is given i.e. the average works out at 14 years for one king. For the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, the average comes to 10 or 11 years per king. This is too low and this sets us thinking. I, therefore, consider the question here,

For the Mauryas, we get either 9 kings or 12 kings and 137 years. For the Śuṅgas we get usually 10 but according to *Mt* 8 kings and 112 years. For the Kāṇvas we get 4 kings and 45 years. Calculations which started with Parīkṣit were over with Mahānanda, with whom Kali ended. Then came a gap of 350 years and then the calculations start with Mahāpadma.

Calculating from Mahāpadma, we get 100 years for the Nandas, 137 for the Mauryas and a gap of 300 years upto the rise of the Śuṅgas. Thus we get 537 years. For these 537 years, they will require $537 \div 40 = 13 + 1 = 14$ king-names. And we have 2 Nandas and 12 Mauryas according to *Vy* and *Bht*. This shows that MCM is used here.

From Nanda to the rise of the Kāṇvas, we have $100 + 137 + 112 + 420$ (of the two gaps) i.e. in all 769 years, for which at the rate of the caturyuga of 40 years, we shall require $769 \div 40 = 19 + 1$ kings. And we have 2 Nandas, 9 Mauryas and 8 Śuṅgas (according to *Mt*) i.e. 19 kings in all. This also shows that MCM is used here.

But at a later date, it seems that MCM with a caturyuga of 20 years and not of 40 years was used. This seems to be indicated by the following.

Suṅgas have 112 years, Kāṇvas have 45 years and in between there was a gap of 120 years. Thus we have $112 + 120 + 45 = 277$ years for which at the rate of 20 years a king, we shall require $277 \div 20 = 13 + 1 = 14$ kings. And we have 10 Suṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas.

For the Āndhras they give 456 years in all. At the rate of 20 there should be $22 + 1 = 23$ Āndhras and Bg and Vn actually name only 23 kings for the Āndhras.

These considerations show that MCM with the caturyuga of 40 years and 20 years is likely to have been used for these dynasties, though we cannot be quite positive in this matter.¹

We can now reconstruct the Kali dynasties thus.

B. C. 3201 Mbh war, P's birth, start of the misunderstood Kali,—and Y's acc.

B. C. 3176 Y's death, start of the amended Kali, start of the Laukika era.

B. C. 3136 Theoretical date of P's birth.

From 3136 B. C. to 2136 B. C. Bāhradratha dynasty.

From 2136 B. C. to 1998 B. C. (138 years) Baimbisāra dynasty at Magadha and Prodyota dynasty at Avanti.

From 1998 B. C. 1986 B. C. (12 years) Saisunāgas at Magadha as Imperial power.

From 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C. First Republic of 350 years.

From 1636 B. C. to 1550 B. C. (86 years) Nandas at Magadha.

From 1550 B. C. to 1413 B. C. (137 years) Mauryas at Magadha.

From 1413 B. C. to 1113 B. C. Second Republic of 300 years.

From 1113 B. C. to 1001 B. C. (112 years) Suṅgas at Magadha.

From 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. Third Republic of 120 years.

From 880 B. C. to 835 B. C. (45 years) Kāṇvas at Magadha.

From 835 B. C. to 379 B. C. (456 years) Āndhras at Āndhra.

From 379 B. C. to 329 B. C. (50 years) Later Āndhras.

B. C. 329 Accession of Chandragupta I (contemporary of Alexander the Great.)

1. However for some details see my paper on 'Chronology of Kali Dynasties' in Poona Orientalist, Vol VIII, Nos 1-2, p 1 ff.

We entered into all this discussion to find out, if we could, the number of years that had elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age and then to the days of Alexander the Great. We have, now, seen that both according to the Yuga-system of Chronology and Manvantara-Caturyuga Method of Chronology, the period from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age, covers 2,800 or 2840 years. If we add to this 800 years of Yuga-adjustment (the change from 1,000 to 1,200 years for each Yuga), we get 3,600 or 3,640 years for this period. Thus we get 3,640 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Somādhī (the first king of the post-Mbh Māgadha dynasty). And for the post-Mbh period up to Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, we have found two figures (1) 2,807 years, according to Bht school and (2) 2,398 years according to Vy-Mt school. Adding 3,640 to both these, we get $(3,640 + 2,807 =)$ 6,447 and $(3,640 + 2,398 =)$ 6,038 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta I's accession. But Megasthenes gives 6,451 years and Arrian gives 6,042 years for this same period i. e. the figures of each of these two, exceed by 4 years the figures of the above two Puranic schools. The reason of this difference of 4 years is this that whereas the Purāṇas stop their calculations at the accession of Chandragupta I (i. e. at 329 B.C.), the Greek writers stop their calculations at the time of Alexander. This means that Alexander came to (or really went out of) India in the 5th regnal year of Chandragupta I. Therefore, taking 325 B.C. as the basis of Greek calculation, we get 329 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta I's accession. Thus, in other words, Puranic calculations (of both the schools) had stopped at 329 B.C. and the Greek calculations come down to 325 B.C. Therefore according to these calculations, the date of Manu Vaivasvata will be $325 + 6,437 = 6,776$ B.C. or deducting 800 years of yuga-adjustment, as we should, 5,976 B.C. Arrian's (and therefore Vy-Mt school's) calculations seem to give $325 + 6,042 = 6,367$ B.C. (or $6,367 - 800 = 5,567$ B.C.) as the date of Manu Vaivasvata, but this difference of 409 years between the two dates (5976-5567) is apparent only. Shrewd reader must have already found out the reason for this, but I shall, here, mention that it is caused by Vy-Mt school and therefore by Arrian, by omitting 420 years of the last two republican gaps and by adding 13 years to the Nandas (100 for 87) and again omitting 2 years for the Saisunāgas (360 for 362), (i. e. $420 - 13 + 2 = 409$).

Thus we find that the figures (both of the kings and the years)

APPENDIX

Post-Mbh Magadha Genealogies

TABLE I

Consolidated Table

	No. of kings (general)		Total regnal years (general)	
	<i>Par</i>	<i>Bht</i>	<i>Par</i>	<i>Bht</i>
Bārhadrathās	22	22	1,000	1,000
Pradyotas	5	5	138	138
Saisunāgas	10	10	360	362
Nandas	2 or 9	2 or 9	100	100
Total	39 or 40	39 or 46	1,598	1,606
Mauryas	10	12	137	316
Suāgas	10	10	112	300
Kāpvas	4	4	45	85
Āndhras	30	32	456	506
Total	93 or 100	97 or 104	2,348	2,807

TABLE III

Pradyotas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bđ	Mt	Bg, Vn	Bht
	Total kings	5	5	5	4	5	5
1	Pradyota	23	23	23	23	5 kings, no individual years	not given in CSL
2	Palaka	24	24	24	28		
3	Visākhayūpa	50	50	50	53		
4	Ajaka	21	31	21	21		
5	Nandivardhana	20	20	20			
	Individual Total	138	148	138	125		
	General Total	138	138	138	138	138	138

TABLE IV

Saisunāgas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bđ	Mt	Bg, Vn	Bht
	Total kings	10	10	10	12	Bg Vn 9, 10	10
1	Sisunāga	34	40	40	40	years not given	not given in CSL
2	Kakavarṇa	36	36	30	26		
3	Kṣemadharmā	40	20	20	36		
4	Kṣatruajāh	28	40	40	24		
5	Bimbisāra	25	28	38	28		
6	Ajātasatru	25	25	25	14		
7	Darśaka	25	25	35	24		
8	Udayi	33	33	33	33		
9	Nandivardhana	40	42	40	40		
10	Mahānandi	43	43	43	43		
	Individual Total	329	332	344	344		
	General Total	360	360	360	360	360	362

TABLE V

Nandas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bd	Mt	Bg, Vn	Bht
	Total kings	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9
1	Mahāpadma	88	88	88	88	88	88
9	8 sons	22	22	22	22	22	22
	General Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VI

Mauryas

	Names	Par eva	Vy (general)	Bd	Bg Vn	Bht	Mt
	Total kings	12	9	7/9	9	12	7/10
1	Candragupta (Binu)	24	24	24	years not given	34	
2	Nandasāra	25	25	25		28	6 (Satadhanvā)
3	Aśoka	36	36	36		36	70 (Bṛhadratha)
4	Kupāla	8	8	8		8	36 (Sakra)
5	Bandhupalita	8	8	8		8	70 (Nabha)
6	Dasona	7	10 (Indrapalita)			70	
7	Daśaratha	8				8	8
8	Samprati	9				9	9
9	Sālīsuka	13				13	
10	Devadharmā	7	7	7		7	
11	Satadhanu	8	8			8	
12	Bṛhadratha	87	7	8		87	70
	Individual Total	240	133	116		316	269
	General Total	137	137	137	137	316	137

TABLE VII

Sungas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bd	Bg/Vn	Bht	Mt
	Total kings	10	10	10	10	10	8/10
1	Puṣyamitra	36	60	60	years not given	60	36
2	Agnimitra	8	8	8		50	
3	Vasujyeṣṭha	7	7	7		36	7
4	Vasumitra	10	10	10		17	10
5	Andhraka	2	2	2		30	2
6	Pulindaka	3	3	3		33	3
7	Yomegha	3	3	3		3	
8	Vajramitra	9	3	7		29	9
9	Bhāgavata	32	32	32		32	32
10	Devabhūmi	10	10	10		10	10
	Individual Total	120	138	142		300	109
	General Total	112	112	112	112	300	300

TABLE VIII

Kāyvas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bd	Bg/Vn	Mt	Bht
	Total kings	4	4	4	4	4	4
1	Vāsudeva	9	9	5	years not given	9	39
2	Bhūmimitra	14	24	24		14	24
3	Nārāyaṇa	12	12	12		12	12
4	Suśarma	10	10	4		10	10
	Individual Total	45	55	45		45	85
	General Total	45	45	45	45	45	85

TABLE IX
Āndhras

Names	Par	Vy	Bq	Bg, Vn	Mt	Bht
Total kings	30	17, 18, 19 25/30	17/30	23/30 23/30	27/19	32
Simuka	23	23	23		23	23
Kṛṣṇa	18	18	10		10	18
Sātakarni	10	56	56			10
Purūtsanga	18				18	18
Skandastambhi	18					18
Sātakarni	56				56	56
Lamodara	18				18	18
Apilaka	12	12	12		12	12
Meghasvāti	18				18	18
Svāti	18				18	18
Skāndasvāti	7				7	7
Mṛgendra Svā	3				3	3
Kuntala	8				8	8
						12
						(Saumya)
Svātivarṇa	1				1	1
Pulomāvi	36	30	24	years not given		36
						38
						(Megha)
Aristaparṇi	25	25	25		25	25
Hāla	5	5	5		5	5
			(100?)			
Mantalaka	5				5	5
Purindrasena	21	21	21		?	21
Sundara	1	1	1		1	1
Cakora	1/2	1/2			1/2	1/2
						3 months
Sivasvāti	28	28	28		28	(Mahendra) 28
						(Sakasena)
Gautami-putra	21	21	21		21	25
Pulomā	28				28	32
Sātakarṇi	19					
Sivasri Pulomā	7				7	7
Sivaskānda	3				7	3
Yajñaśrī	29	19	19		29	19
Vijaya	6	6	6		6	6
Candaśrī	10	3	3		10	3
Pulomavi	7	7	7		7	7
Individual Total	479 1/2	275 1/2	261		371	501
General Total	456	456	456	456	460	506

TABLE X

Analysis

	Purāṇa	No of kings		Total regnal period of the dynasty	
		actual no of individual names	general Total given in the Purāṇa	Total regnal years of individual kings	general total given
Bārhadrathas	Par	22	22	967	1000
	Vy	22	22	997	1000
	Bd	21	22	978	1000
	Bht		22		1000
	Vn	20	22		
	Mt	17 or 16	16; 32 (Jmt)	717	723 Jmt
	Bg				1000 mt genly
Pradyotas	Par	5	5	138	138
	Vy	"	"	148	138
	Bd	"	"	138	138
	Mt	4	5	125	138
	Bg Vn	5	5		138
	Bht		"	138	138
Śaiṣunāgas	Par	10	10	329	360
	Vy	10	10	332	"
	Bd	10	10	344	"
	Mt	12	10	344	"
	Bg	9	10	-	"
	Vn	10	10	-	"
	Bht		10	-	362
Nandas	all	2 or 9	2 or 9	100	100
Mauryas	Par	12	12	240	137
	Vy	9	9	133	"
	evy	12	9	-	"
	Bd	7	9	116	"
	Bg	9	10	-	"
	Vn	10	10	-	"
	Mt	7	10	-	"
	bfgln				
	Mt	6	10	269	137
	Bht	12	12	316	316
Śuṅgas	Par	10	10	120	112
	Vy	"	"	138	"
	Bd	"	"	142	"
	Bg	"	"	-	"
	Vn	"	"	-	"
	Mt	8	"	109	300
	Bht	10	"	300	300
Kāṇvas	all	"	"	45 or 55	45
	Bht	"	"	85	85
Āndhras	Par	30	30	479 ¹ / ₂	456
	Vy	17, 18, 19, evy 25	"	275 ¹ / ₂	"
	Bd	17	"	261	"
	Bg	23	"		"
	Vn	23	"		"
	Mt	21 to 28 & 30	19 or 30	371	460
	Bht	32	32	501	506

PART TWO

- Ch. One : Kashmir Chronology
- Ch. Two : Various Chronological Computations
- Ch. Three : Nepalese Chronology
- Ch. Four : Naraka Episode and Assamese Chronology

Appendix : Who was Alexander's contemporary ?
—Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupt I of the Gupta Dynasty ?



POST TWO

1. The first of the two main branches of the
2. The second of the two main branches of the
3. The third of the two main branches of the
4. The fourth of the two main branches of the

According to the above statement,
the first of the two main branches of the
second of the two main branches of the



CHAPTER ONE

KASHMIR CHRONOLOGY

I

THE history of Kashmir, as preserved in Kalhaya's (Kl) *Rajataranginī* (*Rāj*), is very helpful to us in reconstructing the ancient history of India proper. Relation between the Kashmirian political history and the political history of India proper is much more intimate than is usually accepted. It is found that generally, modern scholars take the ancient period of Kl's history as unreliable and legendary. They make the real beginning of Kashmirian history from Karkota dynasty. But I do not know why the earlier history as given by Kl should be so summarily rejected. Kl is generally scrupulous in his statements. His statement that he had obtained the names of 13 out of 52 kings (whose names were lost to direct tradition) from old works, itself shows that he was an ardent historian with all the fervour of a research student. Therefore, we cannot accuse Kl himself of deliberate misstatements. What he has written was, no doubt, taken from older sources, which he evidently considered to be reliable.

It may, however, be that due to misunderstanding his sources or due to confusion in his sources or due to selecting one out of several existing sources, the earlier history as given by Kl might not become as clear to us as the later history. But on the whole it is untrue to say and wrong to believe that Kl, who is evidently very accurate, has given an unreliable history. We should, therefore, try to understand the points of confusion, if any, in his sources. And, I think, given an unbiassed mind, we can reconstruct from Kl's *Rāj*, a consistent record of dates and events from the Mahābhārata (= Mbh) war to his own days. I shall, therefore, examine, here, the various problems arising out of a critical study of *Rāj*.

I have already shown how Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (MCM), is used in the Puranic genealogies, for longer dynastic periods. Here, I shall also examine whether or not MCM has been used in Kashmir chronology as preserved in *Rāj*.

Apparently, the method was not known to Kī, who lived in 1148 A.D.; but a study of the earlier chronology, as preserved in *Rāj*, shows that MCM has been employed upto the end of the rule of the second king of the Karkoṭa dynasty. Kī has started the history of Kashmir from the days of the Mbh war. Gonanda I (G I), with whom the history of Kashmir opens, was a contemporary and an ally of Jarāsandha of Magadha. According to *Rāj*, after G I, came Dāmodara and after Dāmodara, as his son Gonanda II (G II) was very young, his wife Yaśovati ruled for some time as regent: and then came G II on the throne. Thus G II was a child at the time of the Mbh war.

Now, Kī has not given the names of 35 immediate successors of G II, as these names were lost to the tradition in his days; but recently, Pt. Anand Kaul has published an article on History of Kashmir (*Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1940, p. 195-219). In it, he says that there is a history of Kashmir written in Persian by one Hasan, who in his turn, had drawn his materials from an earlier Persian translation of *Rāj*. This earlier Persian translation, according to Hasan, had incorporated materials from *Ratnākara Purāṇa* of Pandit Ratnākara, and with the help of that Purāṇa, the author was able to fill up the names and regnal periods of the first 52 kings (including the 35 kings whose names were lost to Kī). Pt Kaul, in his article, has given a list of the first 47 kings (with their regnal periods) i.e. upto Aśoka's accession. He has also noted some other interesting details. It is, here, said that according to *Ratnākara Purāṇa*, after G II came Harṇadeva on the throne. This Harṇadeva, according to that source, was the second son of Parikṣit (the Pāṇḍava). Therefore, G II and Parikṣit will be at the same step. This we must remember well in our future inquiry.

Kī starts his history from the Mbh war, putting that war in 2448 B.C. He says:

ऋषादक्षं शतेनावदैर्यान्सु नित्रशिशुषिषु ।

तच्चरि संहिताकारैर्यं दत्तोऽत्र निर्णयः । I, 55

आसन्मघामु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे वृपतौ ।

पञ्चद्विपञ्चद्विपुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञः ॥ II, 56

Samhitākāra referred to here is *Varāhamihira*, the author of *Bṛhatsamhitā*, from which the above second verse is quoted. Evidently, *Kl* interprets the verse to mean, "Saka Era is 2526 years from that king i.e. *Yudhiṣṭhira*." In this interpretation, *Kl* or the tradition that he follows has taken 'tasya rājnah' in the Ablative case. But it is in the Genitive case; and if so taken, the second line would mean the period (*kāla*) of the era (*śaka*) of that king is 2526 years.' Thus there are two interpretations. The first interpretation puts *Yudhiṣṭhira*'s time 2526 years before Saka era of 78 A.D. i.e. it relates it with that Saka era. The second interpretation requires no relation with that Saka era. It simply means that the statement was made when 2526 years from *Yudhiṣṭhira* had elapsed. I think the second interpretation is the correct one, and is earlier in point of time. In fact, the statement of the verse was made by *Garga* in 676 B.C. And putting *Yudhiṣṭhira*'s time 2526 years earlier than 676 B.C., we get $2526 + 676 = 3202$ or 3201 B.C. as the date of *Yudhiṣṭhira*; and we have already seen that 3201 B.C. was the real date of the *Mbh* war and therefore of *Yudhiṣṭhira*'s accession. I think that 676 B.C. is the starting point of that *Kṛta* era which is used in some of the historical inscriptions. Thus, I think that this verse was composed by *Garga* in 676 B.C.; but in later times, due to misunderstanding the word *śaka* (as the specific era of 78 A.D.) of the verse, someone interpreted the verse in relation with the *śaka* era of 78 A.D. This could have been, naturally, done at a date later than 78 A.D. And we should remember that *Kl* took this later sense of the verse and bases his chronology on that sense. According to that sense, putting the start of *śaka* era in 78 A.D., we get $(2526 - 71 =) 2448$ B.C. as the date of *Yudhiṣṭhira*. This is clearly expressed in *Rāj* in

शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।

कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन्कुर्याण्डवाः ॥ I. 51

According to this, *Kauravas* and *Pāṇḍavas* lived 653 years after the beginning of *Kaliyuga*. And taking 3101 B.C. as the start of *Kaliyuga* (as is usually done), we get $3101 - 653 = 2448$ B.C. as the date of the *Mbh* war. Same result is obtained in another manner. His own date is given as 1148 A.D. Between himself and *Gonanda III* (*G III*) are given 2330 years and between *G I* and *G III* are given 1266 years. Thus we get $2330 + 1266 = 3596$ years between *G I* and *Kl*. Deducting 1148 A.D. (*Kl*'s date) from 3596, we get 2448 B.C. as the date of *G I*.

Thus it is clear that Kī starts his chronology from 653 years after the start of Kaliyuga. But, I must point out that the tradition represented in Hasan's history starts the Kashmir chronology from the start of Kaliyuga. Kī himself has noted that others did start the chronology from the start of Kaliyuga, only he takes them to have been mistaken (I, 49). Thus we should bear in mind that we have two distinct traditions — one starting from 3101 B. C. (the start of Kaliyuga) and the other 653 years later i.e. from 2448 B.C.

But the question of the various beginnings of Kashmir chronology is more complicated than this. It is evident that Kashmir chronology as preserved in *Rāj* is the post-Mbh or what is usually termed Kali chronology. Now, the Purāṇas start Kali chronology with Parikṣit. Kī starts his chronology with the Mbh war, putting it in 2448 B.C. Again, according to the Puranic chronology, the Mbh war means Yudhiṣṭhira's accession. According to the Purāṇas, Parikṣit came two steps after Yudhiṣṭhira, thus: Yudhiṣṭhira—Abhimanyu—Parikṣit. In the Kashmir chronology as preserved in *Rāj*, we have G I, Dāmodara, Yaśovati and G II, i.e. there are four units from G I to G II. But I think that the earlier chronologists had not taken Yaśovati as a separate unit as she was only a regent. If so, there will be three steps, G I, Dāmodara and G II, and then, these three will equate with Yudhiṣṭhira, Abhimanyu and Parikṣit.

In this case, G II will be at the same step as Parikṣit and this is corroborated by Hasan, who calls Harṇadeva who succeeded G II, to be the second son of Parikṣit. Therefore, G I will be at the same step as Yudhiṣṭhira, Dāmodara at the same step as Abhimanyu and G II at the same step as Parikṣit. Now we have already seen that though Parikṣit's accession was some 25 years later than the Mbh war, yet the Purāṇas, due to confusion in the date of the start of Kaliyuga, start their post-Mbh chronology with Parikṣit. Thus some would start the post-Mbh period from Yudhiṣṭhira and others from Parikṣit. Similarly, in the Kashmir chronology also, the post-Mbh chronology may start with G I or with G II.

Again, we have seen that though the real date of the Mbh war was 3201 B. C., it was later on almost unanimously taken to be 3101 B. C.. Between these two dates there is a difference of 100 years (caused by the 100 years of Kali-Sandhyā). Therefore, it is not unlikely if a difference of 100 years was taken between Yudhiṣṭhira and Parikṣit or between G I and G II.

Thus the possible confusions in the start of the Kashmir chronology are these:— (1) It may start with G I or G II (2) G I's date may be taken to be 3201 B. C. or 3101 B. C. (3) If G I is placed in 3201 B. C., G II will be placed in 3101 B. C. and if G I is placed in 3101 B. C. G II will be placed in 3001 B. C. (4) Again some (not all) of the Kashmir chronologists started their chronology 653 years later than the usual start. Therefore G I's date may be taken to be 2548 B. C. or 2448 B. C. And if G I is placed in 2548 B. C., G II will be placed in 2448 B. C., but if G I is placed in 2448 B. C., G II will be placed in 2348 B. C.

Regarding the general time-scheme of his work Kī says that his work was composed in Saka year 1070 i. e. in 1148 A. D. He says that the Pāṇḍavas lived 653 years after the start of the Kaliyuga. He, there, gives us three general computations.

His first computation is 1266 years for the first 52 kings. He says :

वर्षाणां द्वादशशती षष्टिः षड्भिश्च संयुता ।

भृशुजां कालसंख्यायां तद्द्वापञ्चाशतो मता ॥ I, 59

But who are these 52 kings for whom the figure of 1266 years is given ? Starting with G I, Kī gives the following kings:— G I, Dāmodara, Yaśovati, G II, then a gap of 35 kings, then Lava, Kuśa, Khagendra, Surendra, Godhara, Suvarṇa, Janaka, Sacinara, Aśoka, Jalaukā, Dāmodara, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka Abhimanyu and G II. Here we get 55 kings from G I to G III, both included. But I must say that Kī definitely makes G III to be 53rd and not 55th from G I. In the introductory verses it is said :

द्वापञ्चाशतमान्नायश्चशायाश्चास्मिन्नुपान् ।

तेभ्यो नीलमतादृष्टं गोमन्दादिचतुष्टयम् ॥ I, 16

वद्वा द्वादशभिर्मन्वसहस्रैः पार्थिवावलिः ।

प्राह्महावतिना येन हेलराजद्विजन्मना ॥ 17

तन्मतं पूर्वमिहिरो दृष्ट्वाशोकादिपूर्वगान् ।

अष्टौ लवादीन्नुपतीन्स्मिन्मन्वस्ये न्यदर्शयत् ॥ 18

येत्यशोकादयः पञ्चव्यवहाराकरोऽवधीत् ।

तान्द्वापञ्चाशतो मध्याच्छ्लोकस्व तथा ह्ययम् ॥ 19

अशोकादभिमन्योर्ये प्रोक्ता पञ्च महीभुजः ।

ते द्वापञ्चाशतौ मध्यादेव लब्धा पुरातनैः ॥ 20

Here it is said that due to loss of tradition, names of 52 kings were lost. But K1 had obtained four names of Gonandādi from Nīlamata (Purāṇa), names of eight kings beginning with Lava and preceding Aśokāli from Pūrvamihira, (who had got these names from the work of Helarāja) and the names of Aśoka to Abhimanyu from Śricavillākara.

Now, above I have taken Huṣka Juṣka and Kaniṣka as three distinct kings (and originally they were three distinct kings) but in the above verses K1 has taken them as one unit, K1 puts these three names in a compound as Huṣkajuṣkakaniṣkāh. Therefore, it is clear that K1 has definitely taken these three kings to represent one number. Thus we get five kings from Aśoka to Abhimanyu (as K1 has distinctly said in the above verse 19), 8 kings from Lava to Aśoka (excluded) and 4 Gonandādi, i. e. G I, Dāmodara, Yaśovati and G II. And 35 names were lost to K1. Thus, according to K1 we have 52 kings from G I to Abhimanyu (both included), and therefore G III is 53rd from G I. Therefore, it is evident that K1 has taken the total of 1266 years for these 52 kings, i. e. 1266 years from G I bring us to G III's accession.

K1's second computation is given thus :

अष्टषष्टषष्टिकाब्दसतद्वाविंशतिकं दृषाः ।

अपीयलन्ते कश्मीरान्मोनन्दाद्याः कलौ द्रुगे ॥ 1, 48

This gives a period of 2,268 years for the kings who are described as Gonandādi. Who are these Gonandādi? I think that the term refers to the Gonanda dynasty which stops at Blind Yudhiṣṭhira (Bly). It does not necessarily refer to the end of the Gonanda dynasty, for we are expressly told by K1 (III, 527-30) that the Goranda dynasty had finally closed with Balāditya, after whom the kingdom passed on to Kārkoṣṭha dynasty. The above verse only says that the king Gonanda and others ruled for 2,268 years. Gonanda may refer to G I or G II, but upto which king does the computation bring us? We have seen above that, according to K1, 1,266 years had elapsed from G I to G III's accession. Now, if we count the actual regnal periods as are given in *Raj.* from G III to Bly, we find that there are 21 kings given (including both G III and Bly). But, out of these 21 kings, K1 gives no period for Bly. We have, therefore, to count from G III's acc. to Bly's acc. Counting, we get 965 years and if we neglect the months (given in the regnal

periods of some of the kings) as is sometimes done, we get 962 years from G III to Bly's acc. If we add these 965 or 962 years to the above 1266 years, we get 2231 or 2228 years and we want 2268 years. That means that Kī has taken 38 or 40 (which is quite in conformity with MCM) years for the reign of Bly; and thus we find that, according to Kī's *Rāj*, 2268 years are for the period from G I to Bly's death.

Kī's third computation is given thus :

लौकिकान्धे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य सांप्रतम् ।

सप्तत्याभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः ॥ I, 52

प्रायस्तृतीयगोनन्दादारभ्य शरदां तदा ।

द्वे सहस्रे गते त्रिंशदधिकं शतत्रयम् ॥ I, 53

The first verse gives 1070 Saka era as Kī's date. Therefore, his date is 1148 A.D. The second verse says that from G III to Kī's days i.e. to 1148 A.D., there had elapsed 2,330 years.

Thus Kī's three general computations are these:

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| (1) From G I to G III 's acc. (52 kings) | 1,266 years |
| (2) From G I to Bly's death (52+21 kings) | 2,268 years |
| (3) From G III to 1148 A.D. | 2,330 years |

And therefore,

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (4) From G III 's acc. to Bly's death (21 kings) | 1,002 years |
| (5) From Bly's death to 1148 A.D. | 1,328 years |

And putting G I 's acc. in 2448 B.C. as Kī has done, we get (2448-1266=) 1182 B.C. as the date of G III 's acc. and (2448-2268=) 180 B.C. as the date of Bly's death.

But there is some difficulty in accepting these dates and these calculations given in *Rāj*, as correct. Kī gives 1266 years for the first 52 kings and 1002 years for the next 21 kings. Therefore, the average regnal period of the first 52 kings will be 24 years and that of the next 21 kings will be 48.8 years. Now there is too much disparity between the average for the first 52 kings and that of the next 21 kings. Therefore Kī's figures seem doubtful. That they are really so is proved by the following.

According to the list published by Pt. Kaul, from G I to Aśoka's acc., 1675 years had elapsed. Pt. Kaul has not published

regnal periods of the kings after Aśoka. But K1 gives five kings from Aśoka's acc. to G III 's acc. So, according to Hasan, the period from G I to G III 's acc. should be of 1675 years plus the total of the regnal periods of these five kings. But, according to K1, the same period has only 1266 years. Therefore, it is clear that K1 and Hasan are following two different traditions. And I think that this difference between the calculations of these two schools, is due to the fact that K1's starting point is 2448 B.C. and Hasan's starting point is 3101 B.C. K1 distinctly says (I, 49) that before him, some other historians had taken the end of Dvāpara i.e. 3101 B.C. as the starting point, because they put the Mbh war at the end of Dvāpara. But he or the tradition that he follows, has taken 2448 B.C. as the starting point. That is, the tradition followed by K1 has brought down the date of the Mbh war by 653 years. And if so, just as 653 would be deducted from the starting point 3101 B.C., so, in order to maintain uniformity, 653 years would be deducted from all the general totals handed down and based upon 3101 B.C. as the starting point. And it is clear that at least two such general totals—one from G I to G III 's acc. and the other from G I to Bly—were handed down to them. Therefore, in order to get the totals based upon 3101 B.C. as the starting point, we should add 653 to K1's totals (which are based upon 2448 B.C. as the starting point and) which are 1266 and 2268. Adding, we get $1266 + 653 = 1219$ years for the first period from G I to G III and $2268 + 653 = 2921$ years for the second period from G I to Bly. Thus we get two totals for the first 52 kings viz 1266 and 1919 and two totals for the first 73 kings viz 2268 and 2921. Out of these, I think Hasan's totals represent the earlier tradition and I further think that these totals—1919 and 2921—are based upon MCM. Let us, therefore, apply MCM to these two periods of Kashmir chronology.

But in order to apply MCM, we should know the number of kings for whom we wish to calculate. We want to calculate upto G III and Bly. Therefore, let us find out their numbers, according to the different possible traditions of Kashmir chronology.

(1) We have seen that K1 makes G III 's number to be 53rd from G I by taking Yaśovati as a separate unit and by taking Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka (HJK) as one unit. But I have already said, while correlating the first three units of Kashmir chronology with the first three units of the Puranic chronology, that earlier,

Yasovati is not likely to have been taken as a separate unit. Similarly, though Kl makes HJK to be one unit, earlier, they must have been three separate units. Keeping these two points and also the various possible beginnings as detailed by me earlier in mind, let us consider.

(2) If we start with G I, do not take Yasovati as a separate unit and take HJK as one unit, G III's number (from G I i. e. from the start) will be 52nd; but it will be 54th if we take HJK as three units.

(3) And, if we start with G II and take HJK as three units, G III's number (from G II i. e. from the start) will be 52nd.

Thus G III's number may be taken to be 52nd or 53rd or 54th, from the start.

Then Kl gives 21 kings from G III to Bly (both inclusive). So Bly's number will be (1) $51 + 21 = 72$ nd from G II, if we take HJK as three units (2) $51 + 21 = 72$ nd from G I, if we do not take Yasovati as a separate unit and keep HJK as one unit and 74th if we take them as separate units and (3) $52 + 21 = 73$ rd from G I, if we take Yasovati as a separate unit and keep HJK as one unit as Kl does.

Thus Bly's number may be taken to be 72nd, 73rd or 74th from the start.

Now let us apply MCM. We shall take the second period upto Bly first. For this period we have obtained two totals above—2268 and 2921. We have just seen that from the start Bly's number may be 72nd, 73rd or 74th. And according to MCM 73 units would require $73 \times 40 = 2920$ years and this exactly tallies with 2921 years which we got by adding 653 to K's total of 2268. Therefore, the correct total is 2921 and it is for 73 king-units. Only we should remember that the total 2921 will bring us down to Bly's acc, if we start with G I, do not take Yasovati as a separate unit and take HJK as three units or to Bly's death, if we start with G I (start remaining with G I in both the cases), take Yasovati as a separate unit and take HJK as three units. Thus we should remember that the total 2921 (i. e. Kl's total 2268) brings us down to Bly's acc or death.

Now let us take the first period upto G III. For this period we have obtained two totals above 1919 and 1266. Again we have seen that from the start, G III's number may be 52nd, 53rd or

54th, i. e. upto G III and excluding him there will be 51 or 52 or 53 kings. These will require, according to MCM, $51 \times 40 = 2040$ years or $52 \times 40 = 2080$ years or $53 \times 40 = 2140$ years. But we have got 1919 years above by adding 653. Therefore the above three totals (2040, 2080, 2140) obtained according to MCM, are more by 121 or 161 or 221 years. We have just seen that the total 2921 for the second period arrived at by adding 653 to K1's total (2268) exactly tallies with the total 2920 arrived at according to MCM. But here in the case of the first period we find this difference of 121 or 161 or 221 years between the two totals. Let us see why there is this difference. We have added 653 years to K1's total of 1266, taking that K1 begins with G I and puts G I in 2448 B. C. But others put G I in 3101 B. C. Again, K1 takes the beginning with G I, but we have seen the possibility of the beginning being with G II. If the earlier starting point was G II and not G I, then we should add 753 and not 653 to 1266, because as we have seen earlier, between G I and G II they are likely to have taken a difference of 100 years and therefore if G I was put in 3101 B. C. G II (i. e. G II's acc.) will be taken in 3001 B. C. Therefore, if the start was from G II, we should deduct 653 from 3001 B. C. and 753 from 3101 B. C. (and then G II will be put in 2348 B. C.) If, therefore, we add 753 to K1's total of 1266 years, we get $1266 + 753 = 2019$ years from the start to G II's acc. Now this figure 2019 tallies well with the figure 2040 obtained according to MCM, for MCM can be true only roughly (within 40 years). It only means that G III started his rule 2019 years after G II's acc. and if G III ruled for more than 21 years ($2040 - 2019 = 21$), as he is likely to have done, the 51st unit will be over and he would be 52nd unit. Thus we find that 2040 and 2019 tally well.

This means that both the totals 2019 and 2921 were based upon MCM. In other words, at one time, the calculation for the first period upto G III's acc. was from G II (and not from G I) to G III's acc. and at that time 51 units were taken from G II to G III's acc. (taking HJK as three units) and there had elapsed 2019 years from G II to G III's acc. But the tradition that K1 follows has, by taking the start to be from G I, by taking Yasovati as a separate unit and by taking HJK as one unit, given 52 units from the start to G III's acc. and has given 1266 years for this period by deducting 753 from the earlier total of 2019 years. Similarly, at one time the calculation for the second period upto B1y was

from G I (not from G II) to Bly's acc. (not death) and at that time 73 units were taken between G I and Bly's acc. (taking HJK as three units and not taking Yasovati as a separate unit) and there had elapsed 2921 years from G I to Bly's acc. But the tradition that KI follows has, by taking Yasovati as a separate unit and by taking HJK as one unit, given 72 units from G I to Bly's acc. (Bly himself being 73rd) and has given 2268 years for this period by deducting 653 from the earlier total of 2921 years. They deducted 653 years for the second period and 753 years for the first period, because, the beginning of the second period was from G I in both the cases, but for the first period, the earlier beginning was from G II and the later beginning was from G I and between G I and G II they had taken a difference of 100 years.

Thus we find that the scheme of chronology as represented in KI's *Raj*, is an adjusted scheme. It is not the original scheme. We have found that KI starts with G I in both the cases and therefore his starting point for both the periods is 2448 B. C. We have also found that some other chronologists started the one period (upto GIII's acc) from GII and one period (upto Bly's acc) from G I. Therefore they put G I in 2448 B. C. and G II in 2348 B. C., (or adding 653 they took G I to have been in 3101 B. C. whereas originally G I must have been put in 3201 B. C. and G II in 3101 B. C. I) Now let us understand the position according to these three calculations.

Originally, G I was put in 3201 B. C. and G II in 3101 B. C. Then 2019 years were calculated between G II and G III's acc. Therefore G III's acc. will be in $3101 - 2019 = 1082$ B. C. Originally 2921 years were calculated between G I and Bly's acc. Therefore Bly's acc will be in $3201 - 2921 = 280$ B. C. Thus at this stage, there will be 802 years ($1082 - 280$) between G III's acc and Bly's acc. At this stage they put 73 units from G I to Bly's acc. thus -3 units (G I to G II dropping Yasovati) $+ 50$ units (from G II's death to GIII's acc, taking HJK as 3 units) $+ 20$ (from G III's acc to Bly's acc).

Another time, they put G I in 2448 B. C. and G II in 2348 B. C. Then they gave 1266 years between G II and G III's acc. Therefore, G III's acc will be in $2348 - 1266 = 1082$ B. C. They gave 2268 years between G I and Bly's acc. Therefore, Bly's acc will be in $2448 - 2268 = 180$ B. C. At this stage, they would require 902 years ($1082 - 180$) between G II's acc. and Bly's acc.

At still another time, they put G I in 2448 B. C. and gave 1266 year between G I (not G II) and G III's acc. Therefore, G III's acc. will be in $2448 - 1266 = 1182$ B. C. Again they gave 2268 years between G I and Bly's acc. Therefore, Bly's acc. will be in $2448 - 2268 = 180$ B. C. At this stage they would require 1002 ($1082 - 180$) years between G III's acc. and Bly's acc.

And finally, some one took 180 B. C. to refer to Bly's death and not to his acc. Thus Bly's death and not acc. came to be in 180 B. C.

Thus we get the following table.

G I's acc.	G II's acc.	1 st period	2 nd period	G III's acc.	Bly's acc.	Bly's d
1 st Stage 3201 B. C.	3101 B. C.	2019 yrs	2921 yrs	1082 BC	280 BC	—
2 nd Stage 2448 B. C.	2348 B. C.	1266 yrs	2268 yrs	"	180 BC	—
3 rd Stage 2448 B. C.	—	"	"	1182 BC	"	—
4 th Stage 2448 B. C.	—	"	"	"	—	180 BC

And I must say that the dates arrived at according to the First stage (i.e. 1082 B. C. for G III's acc. and 280 B. C. for Bly's acc) are correct and others incorrect. The mistake in the third stage was caused by taking the starting point with G I in both the cases. The mistake in the second stage was caused by taking 3101 B. C. & therefore 2448 B. C. as the date of G I.

The chronology as represented by K1, by starting with G I in both the cases, increases the first period upto G III's acc by 100 years and thus gets 1182 B. C. instead of 1082 B. C. as the date of G III's acc. While both these and the chronologists of the second stage get 180 B. C. instead of 280 B. C. as the date of Bly's acc because they kept 3101 B. C. as the fixed point G II's date was originally taken as 3101 B. C. but that of G II's as 3201 B. C. and therefore the calculation upto Bly's acc which starts with G I (not G II) should have started with 3201 B. C. and not with 3101 B. C. as these chronologists of the 2nd stage have done. And that is why they are lower by 100 years in the date of Bly's acc. It should therefore be 280 B. C.

I shall put this differently. There have been, at least, three stages in this adjustment of Kashmir chronology. The first was

based upon the real date of the Mbh war i.e. 3201 B.C. Then, the general chronological computations were made twice, once in G III's days and once in Bly's days. In G III's days, they counted from G II's acc and said that from G II to G III's acc. 2019 years had elapsed. In Bly's days, they counted from G I's acc and said that from G I to Bly's acc, 2921 years had passed. Thus they got 3201 B.C. (G I's date) - 2019 = 1082 B.C. as the date for G III's acc. At this stage there were 802 years between G III and Bly's acc. and 73 units from G I to Bly's acc.

We have seen earlier that the verse āsanmaghāsu etc must have been misunderstood sometime after 78 A.D. And it was only after its misunderstanding that 2448 B.C. was taken as the date of the Mbh war. In Kashmir such a calculation seems to have been made sometime after Ajitāpida's death. At that time, they took 3101 B.C. to be the date of Kali start and therefore as the fixed point and put the Mbh war in 2448 B.C. Therefore, they put G I in 2448 B.C. and G II in 2348 B.C., keeping up the difference of 100 years between them. Now as they brought down the date of Mbh war (which was upto that time taken as 3101 B.C.) by 653 years, they should, for the sake of consistency, bring down the number of years handed down to them for the two periods. For one period they were given 2019 years and for the other 2921 years. They deducted 753 from 2019, as the figure had G II as the starting point and as they put G II 753 years later (i.e. in 2348 B.C.) than 3101 B.C., their fixed point. Thus they got $2019 - 753 = 1266$ years between G II and G III's acc. Similarly, they deducted 653 from 2921, as that figure had G I as its starting point and as they put G I 653 years later (i.e. in 2448 B.C.) than 3101 B.C. their fixed point. Thus they got $2921 - 653 = 2268$ years between G I and Bly's acc. And they got $2448 - 2268 = 180$ B.C. as the date of Bly's acc. At this stage there were 902 years between G III and Bly's acc.

Then in the days of K I or a little earlier, some one misunderstood that both the figures 1266 and 2268 (original figures of 2019 years and 2921 years were known then but discarded) were based upon G I as the starting point. Thus their date of Bly's acc. remained the same (i.e. 180 B.C.) but their date of G III's acc. was taken higher by 100 years (i.e. to 1182 B.C.) as for that period also they took 2448 B.C. and not 2348 B.C. as their start-

ing point. Thus at this stage there came to be 1002 years between G III's acc. and Bly's acc.

And finally it was almost at this stage that by taking Yasovati as a separate unit, they took 180 B.C. to be the date of Bly's death and not of his accession.

Out of these dates for G III's acc and Bly's acc., I think that the dates of the original calculations were correct as those dates tally with the entire subsequent Kashmir Chronology and as those dates are confirmed by MCM. According to those dates, there was a difference of 802 years ($1082 - 280$) between G III's acc. and Bly's acc. Now 802 years, according to MCM, will require ($802 \div 40 = 20$) king-units and we actually find 20 kings between G III (included) and Bly (excluded). This also proves that the original dates were correct and that the original calculation had stopped at Bly's acc and not at his death. That these dates were, later, adjusted by some one is proved by the fact that for the same 20 king-names we have to-day in *Rāj*, a total of 1002 years as we expected it to be in the last stage.

This shows that between G III's acc. and Bly's acc., first, there were 802 years, then 902 years and then 1002 years. But if they added first 100 years and then another 100 years for the period covered by the same 20 kings, they should have adjusted these 200 years in some manner somewhere. Let us see how they are adjusted.

We have seen that first 100 years were added by bringing down the date of Bly's acc from 280 B.C. to 180 B.C. This will naturally affect the total of the regnal periods after the days of Bly. That is, they must have deducted 100 years somewhere from the period after Bly. That such a deduction had actually been made sometime after the death of Ajitāpiṇḍa, will be seen below. It is, therefore, that I have suggested above that the adjustment of the second stage (based on 2148 B.C.) was made sometime after Ajitāpiṇḍa's death.

Another 100 years were added to the period between G III's acc to Bly's acc by taking up the date of G III's acc from 1082 B.C. to 1182 B.C. This happened in the third stage. But this would affect the total of the regnal periods before the days of G III. That is, either they should deduct 100 years from the period from G II to G III's acc or they should take up the start by 100 years, and as we, now, know, they have taken the start higher by

100 years, by starting both the calculations from G I. The period upto G III's acc was always counted from the acc of G II, which was put, at the end of the second stage of adjustment, in 2348 B.C. But in the third stage they counted this period upto G III's acc also, from G I's acc and thus from 2448 B.C. Thus they got the difference of 100 years adjusted.

Now I should explain how 100 years have been deducted from the total regnal periods after the days of Bly; but that point of the deduction of 100 years as well as the point of the correctness of the dates 1082 B.C. (for G III's acc) and 280 B.C. (for Bly's acc) will be fully clarified in considering the Kashmir chronology from Bly's acc to Kī's own days, which I, now, proceed to do.

II

For the period after Bly, I shall make test cases of two dates —(1) that of Mātṛgupta's abdication and (2) that of Jayāpīḍa's accession.

Proceeding after Bly, we have six kings given in the 2nd Taraṅga. Then we have in the 3rd Taraṅga, Meghavarṇa, Pravara-sena I, Toramāṇa and Mātṛgupta. Regarding this Mātṛgupta, it is said in *Raj* that he was at first a court-poet at Ujjain, where king Vikramāditya was ruling and he was made the king of Kashmir by this Vikramāditya. About this Vikramāditya, Kī has noted:

तत्र नेहस्युज्जयिन्या श्रीमान्हर्षापरामिधः ।

एकच्छत्रधकवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ॥ III 125,

म्लेच्छोल्लेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः ।

शकान्विनाशाय येनादौ कार्यभारो लघुकृतः । 128

Thus Kī takes this king Vikramāditya, whose other name was Harṣa and who was ruling at Ujjain to be Sakāri and therefore evidently the starter of the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. Kī seems to be very sure of this, for about an earlier Vikramāditya, who was a relative of the king Pratāpāditya (who succeeded Bly), he categorically says:

शकारिविक्रमादित्य इति स भ्रममाश्रितः ।

अन्वैरत्रान्यथाश्लेषि विसंवादि कदर्थितम् ॥ II, 6

Thus, according to K1, this Vikramāditya who was a contemporary of Mātṛgupta was the real Sakāri and therefore his date should be 56 B. C. Let us see what is his date in *Raj*.

We have seen earlier that K1 puts Bly's death in 180 B. C. Therefore the acc of Pratāpāditya, who succeeded Bly, will be in 180 B. C. Now if we total up (see table given at the end of this section) the regnal periods of kings from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta (both inclusive) we get a total of 290 years. Putting Pratāpāditya's acc in 180 B. C., we get $290 - 180 = 110$ A. D. as the date of the end of Mātṛgupta's rule. And it is said in *Raj* that Mātṛgupta abdicated on learning the news of Harṣa Vikramāditya's death. Thus according to this calculation Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain whom K1 calls the Sakāri, died in 110 A. D. How, then can he be the Vikramāditya of 56 B. C. as K1 makes him to be?

Same result is obtained by calculating from the other end also. K1 puts, as is generally made out from *Raj*, the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa in 813 A. D. Working backwards (see table) we have in *Raj*, 212 years of the Kārkoṭa dynasty from Cippaṭajayāpīḍa's death to the accession of Durlabhavaradhana and 491 years from Pravara-sena II (who succeeded Mātṛgupta) to the start of the Kārkoṭa dynasty i. e. in all $212 + 491 = 703$ from the end of Mātṛgupta's rule to the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa. Putting the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa in 813 A. D., we get $(813 - 703 =)$ 110 A. D. as the date of the end of Mātṛgupta's rule. Thus from both the ends, we find the close of Mātṛgupta's rule and therefore the death of Harṣa Vikramāditya in 110 A. D.

In face of such a clear testimony how can we say that Mātṛgupta (and therefore Harṣa Vikrama) flourished in about 56 B. C.? And yet K1 is almost insistent that Vikramāditya who gave the throne of Kashmir to Mātṛgupta, was the Sakāri Vikramāditya. But if this Vikramāditya was Sakāri, Mātṛgupta's time must have been four years on either side of 56 B. C. (because he is said to have ruled for four years only). K1 is almost self-contradictory. He says that this Vikramāditya was Sakāri i. e. he lived in 56 B. C. and yet the chronology adopted in his work, definitely puts this Vikramāditya's death in 110 A. D. A difference of one and a half century is thus, created between these two dates (56 B. C. and 110 A. D.) This self-contradictory nature of K1's book, I think, suggests that there has been some adjustment in Kashmir chronology. The

true Sakāri is generally understood as the founder of an era. Therefore if this Harṣa Vikramāditya was Sakāri, he must have flourished at 56 B. C. and if he did not flourish at 56 B. C. he was not Sakāri; and yet Kī calls him śakāri and does not put him in 56 B. C. Therefore, either Kī's date for this Vikramāditya is wrong or his statement that he was śakāri is wrong. I think that his statement about Vikramāditya being śakāri is correct and his date for him is incorrect, because there has been some adjustment in the chronology of Kashmir. I think that at one stage, Kashmiri chronology was so arranged that Mātṛgupta and Harṣa Vikrama were actually placed in 56 B. C., but later on, either due to some misunderstanding or due to some other reason (which we shall soon find out), the chronology was readjusted and was made what it is to-day.

I think that just as the chronology upto Bly was based upon MCM, the chronology subsequent to him also was based upon MCM, only after Bly's period the character of MCM, was slightly changed. In the first part of this book I have shown that, so far as MCM is concerned, two types of caturyugas are used—one having 40 years and another having 20 years. We have seen that chronology upto Bly is based upon 40 year's caturyuga. Let us apply both these types to the subsequent chronology. From Pratāpāditya (who succeeded Bly) to Toramāṇa (both included) there are given 9 king-names in *Rāj.* For these 9 units we shall require either $(9 \times 40 =)$ 360 years or $(9 \times 20 =)$ 180 years. Now, Kī has put Bly's death and therefore Pratāpāditya's accession in 180 B. C., while I have, above, said that Bly's accession was in 280 B. C. If so, Bly's death will be in $280 - 40$ (Bly's own unit) = 240 B. C. Thus Pratāpāditya's accession would be either in 240 B. C. or in 180 B. C. Now if we put Pratāpāditya's accession in 180 B. C., as Kī does, Toramāṇa's death will be either in $(360 - 180 =)$ 180 A. D. or in $(180 - 180 =)$ 1 B. C. And if we put Pratāpāditya's accession in 240 B. C., as I do, Toramāṇa's death will be either in $(360 - 240 =)$ 120 A. D. or in $(240 - 180 =)$ 60 B. C. Thus Toramāṇa's death would be in 180 A. D. or 120 A. D. or in 1 B. C. or in 60 B. C. Now Mātṛgupta succeeded Toramāṇa and he is given a rule of 4 years in *Rāj.* Therefore Mātṛgupta's abdication (and therefore Harṣa Vikrama's death) will be in 184 A. D. or in 124 A. D. or in 4 A. D. or in 56 B. C. Out of these dates 184 A. D. and 124 A. D. are impossible dates for the Vikramāditya of 56 B. C. 4 A. D. is not impossible as it can be

said that he came on the throne in 56 B. C. and died in 4 A. D., having ruled for 60 years. 56 B. C. is also possible as the date of Vikramāditya's death, because we have got two distinct traditions about the start of Vikrama era, one taking it to have started from the king's accession and the other taking it to have started from his death. Even out of these two dates, I think that 56 B. C. is the correct date of his death, because at one end it tallies with 240 B. C. as the date of Bly's death and at the other end it tallies with the date of Jayāpīḍa's accession.

Let us proceed. Mātrgupta was succeeded by Pravarasena II. Therefore, according to my calculations, the date of Pravarasena's accession will be 56 B. C. From Pravarasena II to Durlabhaka (second king of the Kārkoṣa dynasty), there are 8 kings both included. Thus, according to MCM, we get $(8 \times 40) = 320$ years, upto the end of Durlabhaka's reign. But *Rāj* gives 300 years to Raṇāditya. I shall later show that these 300 years represent a kingless period in Kashmir. Thus, here, we should take 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit (and these 40 years are included in the above 320 years for 8 units) plus a kingless period of 300 years. Thus we shall have $320 + 300 = 620$ years from Pravarasena II's accession to Durlabhaka's end. Putting Pravarasena II's accession in 56 B. C., we get $(620 - 56 =)$ 564 A. D. as the date of Durlabhaka's death. It will be seen that in the above calculation I have given 340 years $(300 + 40$ his own unit) to Raṇāditya's unit. This is proved by the following also.

Pt Anand Kaul has said (P. 202), "According to him (Hasan) Raṇāditya's rule did not extend over 300 years as stated by Kalhaṇa, which is, on the face of it preposterous (see Dr. Stien's Intr. to Kashmir's chronicle p. 80) but over only 60 years and 3 months, and that six kings preceeded and one king followed him, the account of whose rule he gives in detail, but whom Kalhaṇa has omitted." Thus, for one unit of Raṇāditya as given in *Rāj*, Hasan gives 7 units plus 60 years. 7 units would mean $7 \times 40 = 280$ years and if we add 60 years to it, we get exactly 340 years (for Raṇāditya's unit) as I have taken above. Thus this detail preserved by Hasan proves, beyond any doubt, that MCM with 40 year's unit is used here and that 300 years given by K1 represent a kingless period. (I shall attempt a detailed reconstruction of these 300 years later).

Thus we get 564 A. D. as the date of Durlabhaka's death i.e. of the accession of Candrāpīḍa who succeeded Durlabhaka. After Durlabhaka and from Candrāpīḍa, *Rāj* shows no trace of MCM. Therefore let us work up upto Jayāpīḍa according to the regnal periods given in *Rāj*. If we count the regnal periods of the kings from Candrāpīḍa to Jayāpīḍa (both included) we get 92 years. Therefore Jayāpīḍa's death will be in $564+92=656$ A. D. And as Jayāpīḍa ruled for 31 years, his regnal period will be from 625 A.D. to 656 A.D.

But this date for Jayāpīḍa comes in conflict with the evidence of *Rāj* itself. *Rāj* IV, 703 is this:

एकाननवते वर्षे स्वस्रीये शान्तिमागत ।

निर्विघ्नमेगास्तेभूवन्प्रद्विंशब्दात्पयावधि ॥ ७०३

Here *svasriya* refers to Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, and from here K1 starts giving dates in *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* era. It has been held on the evidence of the verse that cippaṭajayāpīḍa (Chj) died in the 89th *Laukika* year. And working backwards from the close of the book, which is definitely put in 1148 A. D. and therefore in $3077-1148=4225$ th *Laukika* era, it is found that the year 89th mentioned, here, should be 3889th year of the *Laukika* era. And 3889th year of the *Laukika* era is taken as equivalent to $3889-3077=812$ or 813 A. D. Thus, if the death of Chj occurred in 813 A. D., the death of Jayāpīḍa, which happened, according to *Rāj*, 31 years earlier, should be put in $813-31=782$ A.D. But I have put, above, Jayāpīḍa's death in 656 A. D. How can this be?

Then again the modern scholars have found that, according to certain Chinese sources, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and Candrāpīḍa were contemporaries of the Chinese emperor Yuan Chang, who is known to have ruled from 713 to 765 A. D. Candrāpīḍa according to *Rāj*, is removed from Jayāpīḍa by 84 years. How, then, can Jayāpīḍa rule from 625 to 656 A. D. as I say?

Thus both according to the internal and external evidence, my dates for Jayāpīḍa do not seem to be correct; and I must say that inspite of this internal and external evidence, the dates suggested by me are corroborated by a number of other circumstances, which in my opinion prove my dates conclusively.

(1) "I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim speaks of Jayāditya of Kashmir as the author of a grammatical work called *Vṛtti-sūtra*, which, it

is usual to identify with the *Kāśikā*, a joint work of Jayāditya and Vāmana. I-tsing tells that Jayāditya died in about A. D. 660." (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, by S. K. Belvalkar, p. 35). I-tsing, here, calls the author as Jayāditya of Kashmir and the joint author of the *Kāśikā* is also Jayāditya. Now, there is every reason to believe that Jayāditya of I-tsing and Jayāditya of the *Kāśikā* are one and the same person and further that they are the same as Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir. According to the usually accepted chronology of *Rāj.* in c. 660 A. D. it was Durlabhaka who was ruling over Kashmir. How, then, did I-tsing refer to Jayāditya or Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir as having died in c. 660 A. D.? There had been no king named Jayāditya and Jayāpīḍa before Durlabhaka. The difference in the ending of the name (-āditya and -pīḍa) need not come in the way, as there are many such cases of more than one ending in proper names of kings in ancient India. Moreover, it is evident from *Rāj.* (IV, 488-9; 664-7) that Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir was not only keenly interested in grammar, but was himself an author of some grammatical works. Again, it has been unanimously accepted by scholars that Vāmana, the rehtorician and grammarian, lived at the court of this Jayāpīḍa. *Rāj.* also mentions this Vāmana (IV, 497). Therefore, it is not at all unlikely if Jayāpīḍa wrote some grammatical work, jointly with Vāmana. Therefore, I think that Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir is the same as Jayāditya of the *Kāśikā* and Jayāditya of I-tsing. The difference in the name of the book (*vṛtti-sūtra*) as given by I-tsing should not come in the way, as either it was an alternative title of *Kāśikā* itself or it was another work of Jayāditya or Jayāpīḍa.

Thus, I-tsing's evidence should be taken as unmistakable. He himself travelled in India from 670 A. D. onwards and must have been in Kashmir in 670 or 671 A. D. Therefore, he cannot be wrong when he says that Jayāditya or Jayāpīḍa died in c. 660 A. D. And according to my calculation Jayāpīḍa died in 656 A. D.

(2) I put Jayāpīḍa's rule from 625 to 656 A. D. If so, it must have been Jayāpīḍa, who was ruling in Kashmir, when the famous Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsang visited Kashmir in c. 629 A. D. "*The Life*" gives a detailed description of the pilgrim's reception by the king of Kashmir, but it is really unfortunate that neither '*the Life*' nor the pilgrim himself gives the name of the king who was then ruling in Kashmir. But I must say that though '*the Life*' or the pilgrim does not mention the name of

the king, Ki actually mentions the name of Hiuen Tsang as a pilgrim who visited Kashmir in the days of Jayāpiḍa. While describing the reign of Jayāpiḍa, Ki says:

स स्वप्ने पश्चिमाश्रयां लक्षवस्तुदयं रवेः ।
देशे धर्मोत्तराचार्यं प्रविष्टं साध्वमन्वत ॥ IV, 498

This has been translated by Mr. R. S. Pandit thus:

"When he saw in a dream the rising of the Sun in the Western direction, he believed that a distinguished Master of the Law had entered the country. (IV, 498)"

And in a note to this verse Mr. Pandit says: 'May it be that this verse refers to an event similar to the arrival of the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, which literally means Master of the Law?'

I think that Mr. Pandit has unknowingly caught the right sense here. But Mr. Pandit has not translated the word 'sādhū' in the verse. I would, therefore, translate the verse thus:

"Seeing in a dream the rising of the Sun in the Western direction, he considered it good that Dharmottarācārya (i.e. Hiuen-Tsang i.e. Master of the Law) had entered the country."

I take Dharmottarācārya as a mere translation of the name Hiuen-Tsang. Hiuen-Tsang was not the personal name of the pilgrim. It was his dikṣā-name and it literally means master (ācārya) of the Law (dharma), i.e. dharmācārya. Ki has translated it by dharmottarācārya, meaning distinguished Master of the Law. I, therefore, take dharmottarācārya to mean Hiuen-Tsang and I would explain the verse thus: Jayāpiḍa himself was not a Buddhist. Therefore, when he heard, probably through his spies, that a great Buddhist monk was about to enter or had entered his country, he probably, at first, thought of not encouraging the visit. He might have even doubted him to be a spy. Therefore, when he had a dream as above, he must have narrated the same to the astrologers and interpreters, for interpretation: and on their advice, the king must have considered the arrival of the pilgrim to be good (sādhū) i.e. harmless. The verse should be properly understood. At the place where it occurs, Ki is describing the general condition of the reign of Jayāpiḍa. In the 497th verse, he has enumerated the names of the poets and learned men of his court and then follows

this verse. Thus the verse has no particular context, except that after giving a list of the poets and learned men, Kī, in this verse, gives some information about a religious man. But it is quite clear that it has been mentioned as a separate and independent incident in the life of Jayāpīḍa. As such, it must have been an important event in his reign, so as to deserve a separate mention. It is, therefore, evident that the arrival of a dharmottarācārya was an important event in the reign of Jayāpīḍa. According to the chronology of *Rāj*, Jayāpīḍa's rule will be from A. D. 750 to 781, and according to the modern scholars from c. 780-811 A. D. i.e. the last quarter of the eighth century. Now, no Chinese pilgrim, who could be called dharmottarācārya is known to have visited Kashmir during the last quarter of the eighth century. I-tsing was an important person, but he had died in 713 A. D. Therefore, if we accept the chronology as it is found in *Rāj*, or as it is modified by the modern scholars, this important event of the reign of Jayāpīḍa will remain unexplained. But according to my chronology, Jayāpīḍa ruled from 625 to 656 A. D. And as Hiuen-Tsang had entered Kashmir in c. 629 A. D., it was he, whose visit is noted in this verse. He was actually called Master of the Law and that is what Kī means by dharmottarācārya. Thus, in my opinion, this verse supplies a very important synchronism. I, therefore, take this verse to actually record the visit of Hiuen-Tsang in Kashmir, and as the pilgrim had entered Kashmir in c. 629 A. D., my dates for Jayāpīḍa's reign-period (625-656 A. D.) are fully supported by it.

(3) *Subhāṣitāvali* has a verse *durvārā smaramārgava* etc. It is given there under the signature of Mayurasutasya Śaṅkukasya. That means that Śaṅkuka was the son of Mayūra. Mayūra was a contemporary of the emperor Harṣa of Kanauj, and Śaṅkuka, according to *Rāj* (IV, 705) was a contemporary of Ajitāpīḍa. Harṣa is put from c. 604 to 643 A. D. and Ajitāpīḍa, according to *Rāj* is to be put from 813 A. D. to 839 A. D. In that case, we shall have to say that either the remark in *Subhāṣitāvali* is not correct or if it is correct then Śaṅkuka of the verse is not the same as Śaṅkuka of *Rāj* or Mayūra of the remark is not the Mayūra, the contemporary of Harṣa. And yet we do not know of any other Śaṅkuka or Mayūra, apart from those connected with Ajitāpīḍa and Harṣa respectively. But according to my chronology Ajitāpīḍa will be placed from 687 to 713 A. D. Harṣa ruled upto

643 A. D. Thus Mayūra, who was a junior contemporary of Bāṇa could have been the father of Śaṅkuka. If we put Mayūra's life from c 615 to 680 A. D. then we can put Śaṅkuka's life from c. 645 to 725 A. D. Thus, if we accept my dates of Jayāpiḍa and of Ajitāpiḍa, the remark, that the above verse was composed by Śaṅkuka, the son of Mayūra can be satisfactorily explained, without being driven to the necessity of postulating another Mayūra or another Śaṅkuka.

(4) Elsewhere,¹ I have shown that Chach, the founder of the Brāhmaṇa dynasty in Sind, was the same person as Jujja, the brother-in-law of Jayāpiḍa (mentioned in *Rāj*). A Ms spells the name Chach as Jaj also and even otherwise, phonetically also, Chach and Jaj can easily interchange. It is said in *Chachnāmāh* that when Chach went to Multan, one king of Kashmir had just recently died and another king had come to the throne. This new king, it is said in *Chachnāmāh*, was a child and as he had newly come on the throne, there were internal mutiny and dissensions. Again, in the days of i. e. soon after the accession of Chandār, the brother and successor of Chach, it is known from *Chachnāmāh* that, this child king had died and another king had come to the throne of Kashmir, who is described in *Chachnāmāh* as the grandson (by daughter) of the great Chach. Now Chach is said to have ruled for 40 years, Chandār for 7 years and Dāhar who succeeded Chandār seems to have ruled for about 15 years. It is very well known that this Dāhar was put to death in 712 A. D. by Mir Kasam, who conquered Sind in that year. Therefore Dāhar ruled from 697 to 712 A. D., Chandār from 690 to 697 A. D. and Chach from 650 to 690 A. D. Therefore, from about 650 A. D. to 692 A. D. there must have happened in Kashmir (1) the death of one king, (2) accession of another king, who was a child and in whose reign there had been internal troubles, (3) death of this child king and accession of another king who was the grandson of Chach. Now, according to the chronology as given by Kī, between the years 650 and 692 A. D., there ruled in Kashmir. Durlabhaka (637-687 A. D.) and Candrāpiḍa (687-695 A. D.). But none of these two, satisfies any of the above conditions, Neither of them was a child king, in the reign of neither of them was there internal trouble and neither of them is known to have been or could have been the grandson of Chach. According to the

1. *Journal of Sind Historical Society* Vol. VII, Part 1 & 2 pp. 1 ff

modern historians who pull down the dates by 25 or 30 years, from 650 to 692 A. D., there will be ruling in Kashmir, Durlabhavardhana (last 12 years of his reign) and Durlabhaka (692-712 A. D.). But this also will not satisfy any of the details given in *Chachnāmāh*. According to my scheme, Jayāpīḍa ruled from 625-656 A. D., Lalitapīḍa from 656 to 668 A. D., Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II from 668 to 675 A. D., Cippatajayāpīḍa from 675 to 687 A. D. and Ajitāpīḍa from 687-713 A. D. And I have shown that the first reference to the Kashmir king in *Chachnāmāh* is to Cippatajayāpīḍa who is clearly described in *Rāj*, as a child king (Śisudeśya) and in whose days, it is said in *Rāj*, his maternal uncles had created internal troubles and had actually started enjoying the kingdom themselves. The second reference, I have shown, is to Ajitāpīḍa. Ajitāpīḍa was the son of Tribhuvanāpīḍa, who, though was the eldest son of Jayāpīḍa, was not given the throne after the death of Jayāpīḍa. Now this Tribhuvanāpīḍa, I have shown, was the nephew (sister's son) of Jajja (whom I identify with Chach) whose sister, according to *Rāj*, was married to Jayāpīḍa. Therefore, Ajitāpīḍa would be Jajja's or Chach's grand-nephew. Only, either the original Arabic writer of *Chachnāmāh* or its persian translator has confounded grand-nephew with grand-son i. e. sister's son with daughter's son. Thus the details of the contemporary Kashmir history, as given in *Chachnāmāh*, are satisfied only if we adopt my dates for Jayāpīḍa and Ajitāpīḍa.

(4) Another somewhat indirect but very suggestive evidence also supports my dates for Jayāpīḍa. I would, here, draw attention to the names Candrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa that occur in *Rāj*. We are already familiar with these names. Candrāpīḍa is the hero of *Kādambarī* and Tārāpīḍa is his father's name. Now, these names are peculiar. They are not the usual names that we meet with in ordinary Sanskrit literary works. Why did Bāṇa select such peculiar names? Names are so peculiar that one would doubt a borrowing either on the part of Bāṇa or on the part of Durlabhaka, the father of Candrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa. If we put the death of Chj in 89th year and therefore in 813 A. D., as is usually done, then Durlabhaka's rule will be from 616 to 676 A. D. And if we accept the emendation proposed by the scholars then his dates will be from 653-713. In these cases, Durlabhaka will be either a contemporary of ŚrīHarṣa of Kanauj or his immediate follower. In that case it may be said that Bāṇa had coined these names in

his story, and that story was read by Durlabhaka and he having liked the names, gave these names to his sons. It is not altogether impossible. But if we accept my date of Jayāpīḍa, Durlabhaka's rule will be placed from 522 to 582 A. D., which will mean that Bāṇa had borrowed the names. This also is not impossible, as Bāṇa had travelled widely and *Kādambarī* bears every trace of his being familiar with Kashmir and Hemakūṭa regions. He might have gone to Kashmir, according to my chronology, in the days of Jayāpīḍa and these names ending in pīḍa or āpīḍa might have struck him as peculiar and he might have selected these names for his romantic story.

Out of these two alternatives of borrowing the names by Durlabhaka or by Bāṇa, I think that the borrowing by Bāṇa is more natural. In favour of Durlabhaka borrowing the names, this can be said. The names are peculiar and the first two names of the dynasty do not end in pīḍa or āpīḍa and these pīḍa-ending names suddenly start from the sons of Durlabhaka, and he might have selected them after reading *Kādambarī*. But I must say that though, so far as Sanskrit literature is concerned these pīḍa-ending names are certainly peculiar and unusual, to the Kashmirian region they are not new. In fact these names which end in pīḍa can very well be compared with the names like Euripides, which also end in pid (i. e. pida). This shows that names ending in 'pid' were 'foreign' and, I think that they were possibly current in Bactria, and such other regions. These names, when sanskritised will naturally take the āpīḍa-ending. (Indeed names like Ajitāpīḍa would hardly yield any sense in Sanskrit). Thus these pīḍa and āpīḍa-ending names were not invented by Bāṇa but were current in those localities. Therefore, there was no necessity for Durlabhaka to have borrowed the names from Bāṇa. On the contrary, as we know that such names are natural to the northern regions, it becomes easier for us to believe that Bāṇa had borrowed these names. In fact, in Sanskrit fiction, it is usual to name the heroes after some ancient kings. Bāṇa has actually named Sūdraka after the famous king Sūdraka and it is very likely that he named Candrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa after the two kings of Kashmir. Another slight circumstance may be adduced in support of Bāṇa's borrowing the names from Kashmir history. According to *Rāj*, Tārāpīḍa was pleasure-loving and not an altogether good king, while Candrāpīḍa was an ideal king. That is why Bāṇa has made Tārāpīḍa

the father (a comparatively minor character) and lightly described him as putting all the administrative burden on the shoulders of his ministers and he himself plunging into sensual pleasures. As against that Bāṇa has made Candrāpāda his hero, who is filled with all the good qualities. Thus it is likely that Bāṇa borrowed the names from Kashmir history and if so, it would support my dates for Jayāpāda.

(6) There is another line of argument, which almost conclusively supports this correction of 126 years advocated by me. I find that Dr. P. C. Bagchi has felt a need of similar correction, though he is hesitant about it. I shall quote from his writing fully: (IHQ, VII 1941, 224 ff.).

"There is some difficulty in believing that the *Aṣṭamahāśrī-caitya-stotra* (IV) restored into Sanskrit by Prof. Lēvi, was the work of king Harṣa Śilāditya. The Chinese transcription is due to Fat'ien (Dharmadeva) of Nālandā who was in China from 973 to 1001. According to the Chinese tradition it is the work of king Kie-je. Kie-je is the regular Chinese translation of the name of Śilāditya. The Tibetan translation in its colophon however says that it is the work of king Harṣadeva of Kasmir (*Kha che i rgyal po = Śrī Ha-ri-ṣa-deva* who composed it in order to please her mother (*Yum gyī ched du mṛdsad pa*).

In fact king Harṣa of Kasmir is known to have possessed great literary talents and composed poems and songs. King Harṣa, the son of Kalāṣa, whose later career as a king was vitiated by many acts of oppression, was an ideal prince in his younger days. He was a patron of talents, and himself a great musician and composer (*Rājatarāṅgī*, VII, 611-615). Harṣa knew many languages, was able to compose poem in those languages and his fame as a composer spread even to other kingdoms (*ibid.*, VII, 610). The court musicians used to sing his beautiful compositions (*ibid.*, VII, 717). "He excelled even Bṛhaspati in talents. When anybody sang one of his many compositions even the musicians could not resist their tears" (*ibid.*, VII, 941-942). There is also proof to show that the oppressive king Harṣa had a tender corner in his heart for Buddhism. In the latter part of his reign when he was burning the temples all through his kingdom he spared only the famous Mārtāṇḍa temple and two famous Buddhist temples at the request of a Buddhist singer named Kuśāṣṛī (*ibid.*, VII, 1097-98). This

clearly shows that king Harṣa was a good composer of songs and that he also took delight in Buddhist songs. It is therefore quite possible that he composed the *Aṣṭamahāsthāna caitya vandana stotra* at the request of his mother in his younger days.

The internal evidence contained in the poem tends to give an additional proof. In the first two verses the author mentions the caityas in the famous places of Buddhist pilgrimage like Vaiśālī, Srāvastī, Kuśinagara, Lumbinī, Kausāmbī and Mathurā. Then follows a list of places and countries far and wide beginning with Kāśmīra, Cina, Khaṣa, Yamunā, etc. This shows that the author belonged to Kāśmīra. There is also mention of a city called Kalāṣavarapura in this list. The name is translated into Tibetan as *Bum b'ui kloñ mchog* "the great city of Kalāṣa (water pot)." Where was this city of Kalāṣa? We know from the *Rājatarāṅgī* that Harṣa's father Kalāṣa, like his predecessors built a new city in the valley of Kāśmīra after his name (*ibid.*, VII, 607, 608, 646). Harṣa, while mentioning many other unimportant places in his poem, probably thought it fit to include a city founded by his father. He had the best relation with his father in his young days. Then again the name *Marvāra* mentioned in the 4th stanza does not seem to be very old.

It therefore seems that king Harṣa of Kāśmīr was the author of this poem. It is through mistake that the Chinese chroniclers have identified him with king Śīlāditya. The accepted chronology of the kings of Kashmir however stands in the way. Fa t'ien transcribed the work in Chinese between 973 and 1001 A. D. But Harṣa is said to have reigned about a century later between 1089 and 1101 A. D. At the time of his death he was only 42 years old (H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of India*, I, p. 182.) It is not possible to go into the intricate problem of chronology in this article but attention of scholars may be drawn to certain inconsistencies in this chronology. Kalāṣa died in the Laukika era 165 (*Rājatarāṅgī* VII, 723) which according to current calculation corresponds to 1064 A. D. and not 1085 A. D. Then again according to the Tibetan accounts, (*Pag Sam Jon Zang*, pp. liv-lv) king Gopāla (i. e. Gopāla III) of the Pāla dynasty was a contemporary of king Harṣa of Kashmir. But Dr. Ray (*ibid.*, I, p. 385) places him in circa 1130 A. D. This shows the uncertain character of the accepted chronology of Kashmir kings. It therefore may not be impossible that Fa t'ien got a poem of king Harṣa before 1001 A. D. and transcribed it into Chinese. It is not impossible, though improbable, that

the transcription of Harṣa's poem was done later by some other scholar and attributed to Fa t'ien by mistake."

I shall only say that all the difficulty felt by Dr. Bagchi will disappear if we put the date of Harṣa earlier by 126 years. In that case his dates will be from 963 A. D. to 975 A. D. With these dates of Harṣa we can easily explain how Fa T'ien translated this poem into Chinese between 973 and 1001 A. D. In this case Harṣa will be a contemporary of Gopal II and not of Gopal III of Bengal. Gopal II's dates have been shown to be 923 — 980 A. D. (IHQ, VI, p. 168).

(7) I shall, now, show that the question of Lalitāditya's date does not come in the way of these dates of Jayāditya proposed by me. K1 gives his dates as 700 A. D. to 736 A. D. The modern scholars, on Chinese evidence propose to correct these dates by 25 years i. e. they give his dates as 725-760 A. D. My dates for him are 574 to 600 A. D. It has been sought to support the dates arrived at according to the Chinese evidence, from the life of a Jain monk named Bappa Bhaṭṭi, preserved in Jain literature. S. P. Pandit, in his edition of *Gauḍavaho* (Intro p. CXXV ff) has, first, examined this question at length. He examined the following sources.

1. *Bappabhaṭṭasuricarita*, a short tract in Sanskrit intermixed freely with Prakrit quotations.
2. The *Prabandhakosa* of Rājasekhara written in A. D. 1349.
3. The *Prabhāvaka Curita* by Prabhācandrasuri.
4. *Tīrthakalpa* by Jinaprabhasuri c. 1308 A. D.
5. *Gāthāsāhasri* of Samayasundara.
6. *Vicārasāraprakaraṇa* by Pradyumnasuri c. 1278 A. D.
7. A *Paṭṭāvali* by Ravivardhana Gani, 1683.

I shall take down relevant points from Pandit's discussion here.

(1) Bappabhaṭṭi was born (a) according to the first three and the last of the above sources in 800 V. S. i. e. in 744 A. D., (b) according to the fourth source above in 830 V. S. i. e. in 774 A. D. and (c) according to 5 and 6 above after 830 V. S. i. e. after 774 A. D.

(2) The date of B's death is given by 1, 2, 3, and 6 and all of them give the date as V. S. 895 or 839 A. D.

(3) B, according to 2 and 3 was taken as a student in 807 V. S. i. e. in 751 A. D. and became a *śūri* in 811 V. S. i. e. in 755 A. D.

(4) This B was a co-student and a contemporary of a king named Āma. This Āma is also called Nāgāvaloka and is described as the son of Yaśovarmā of Kanauj, in 2 and 3.

(5) According to 2 and 3 above Yaśovarmā, the father of Āma died in V. S. 811 i. e. in 735 A. D.

(6) According to 1, 2 and 3, at this time, king Dharma was the ruler of Bengal.

(7) B lived at the court of Āma for all his life, but for some-time in between, he also lived at Dharma's court.

(8) At this Dharma's court lived a poet named Vākpati.

(9) Yaśovarmā killed Dharma and captured Vākpati.

(10) Vākpati composed *Gauḍavaho* in prison and king Yaśovarmā being pleased, released him.

(11) Then Vākpati lived at the court of Āma and later retired to Mathurā. In the last stage of his life he became a Jain by the preaching of B.

Taking their stand on the information contained in (2) and (3) that Yaśovarmā died in 755 A. D. some scholars, identify this Yaśovarmā with the king of that name who was defeated by Lalitāditya of Kashmir and then say that this date of Yaśovarmā's death confirms the corrected dates of Lalitāditya which are 725-760 A. D. The dates given by K1 (which are 700-736 A. D.), they say, are too much earlier for Yaśovarmā's death to be put in 788 A. D. They say that this Yaśovarmā was the same as one defeated by Lalitāditya because, both in *Rāj* and in the above Jain sources 1, 2 and 3, he is described as a patron of Vākpati, who composed *Gauḍavaho*.

The king Āma of this story, who is also called Nāgāvaloka, is identified by these scholars, particularly by Aiyangar¹ with Nāga-bhaṭṭa II of the Pratihāra dynasty. Āma's death is put in 890 V. S. i. e. in 833 A. D. and that is exactly the time of the death

1 See *Ancient India* Vol. I by S. K. Aiyangar.

of Nāgabhaṭṭa II, as arrived at from inscriptional evidence. Dharmapāla is identified by them with Dharmapāla of Bengal, the successor of Gopāl, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.

Now, I must point out that it is very risky to base any conclusion from these Jain stories, many of the details of which are self-contradictory. Many scholars are not inclined to trust the story. Pandit has very ably shown why we should not put reliance in this story. I shall, in what follows, without entering into detailed discussion, note down the discrepancies noted by Pandit, to which I add some more which I have found.

(1) The date of B's birth is given by some sources as 800 V. S. and by others as 830 V. S. or a little later. Now I think that 830 V. S. is more likely to be correct. The sources 2 and 3 which put B's birth in 800 V. S., say that he got his dīkṣā in 807 V. S. and sūripada in 811 V. S. and it was in 811 V. S. that Yaśovarmā died, and Āma came to the throne.

Let us consider these dates. It is extremely unlikely that B had acquired all the vidyās described in the story before he became 11 years old and also unlikely that the status of sūri was conferred on him when he was only 11 years old. It simply does not stand to reason. Then again if Āma came to the throne in 811 V. S. and died in 890 V. S. (as is said in 2 and 3), his rule will last for 79 years and taking that, at his accession he was 20 or 25 years old (as is shown by Pandit), he must have died at the age of more than 100 years. Now, it is certainly very improbable that Āma should have ruled for 79 years.

Instead, if we take 830 V. S. as the date of B's birth as is given by 4, 5 and 6, it will give a life of 65 years to B (his death being put in 895 V. S.) In that case, we may say that Āma, who might have been little older than B, came to the throne in, say, 850 V. S. i. e. in 794 A. D. In this case, he would rule for 40 years, which is likely.

Thus, if we put Āma's accession in c. 850 V. S. i. e. in c. 794 A. D., we shall have to put the death of Yaśovarmā, the father of Āma in the same year i. e. in 794 A. D. But in that case, Yaśovarmā, the father of Āma, could not have been a contemporary of Lalitāditya, who died at the latest in 760 A. D. Thus on this point the evidence of this story is not at all conclusive.

(2) Then, again, we should note that above source 1. as is summarised by Pandit, does not name Yaśovarmā as the father of Āma.

(3) Again Āma-Nāgāvaloka is identified with Nāgabhatta II. I think that this identification is correct and to that extent the date of his death is 890 V. S. and his contemporaneity with Dharmapāla may also be taken as correct. Now in the inscriptions, the father of Nāgabhatta II is named as Vatsarāja and not as Yaśovarmā. How shall we explain this discrepancy? Shall we say that Yaśovarmā was another name of Vatsarāja? But for that there is not the least evidence. To his contemporaries and successors Vatsarāja is known as Vatsarāja, not as Yaśovarmā. He is named as Vatsarāja by Jināsenasuri, Udyotanasuri and in the inscriptions. If Vatsarāja was the real name of Yaśovarmā, how is it that, whereas all others call him Vatsarāja, his own court-poet Vākpati and Kī call him Yaśovarmā and not Vatsarāja? This only means that Vatsarāja and Yaśovarmā are not the same and therefore these Jain sources are incorrect, when they say that Yaśovarmā of Kanauj was Āma's father.

There is another consideration also. Taking that Vatsarāja was another name of Yaśovarmā what result do we get? Vatsarāja is said to be the ruling king by Jināsena in 783 A. D. and by Udyotana in 788 A. D. If, therefore, Vatsarāja and Yaśovarmā are identical, we shall have to take Yaśovarmā, the contemporary of Lalitāditya as ruling in 788 A. D. But the latest date assignable to Lalitāditya is 760 A. D. This only means that Vatsarāja and Yaśovarmā are not identical and that therefore the Jain sources are incorrect in calling Yaśovarmā as the father of Āma.

(4) The Jain story says that Dharmapāla of Bengal was killed by Yaśovarmā. To me this seems to be an outright fabrication. How can Dharmapāla, who was a contemporary of B and Āma, be killed by Yaśovarmā, the father of Āma, who is said to have died at the accession of Āma? In order to escape from this difficulty two answers are given. (a) It is said that the king who killed Dharmapāla was another Yaśovarmā or Yaśodharmā. For this there is no guarantee in the sources. It is true that in the Ms that Pandit consulted the name of the king is given as Yaśodharmā, but in the printed copy of both *Prabhāvakacarita* and *Prabandhakosa*, which are now published by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan and which are

based on the collation of several Mss. the name is given as Yaśovarmā. However if it was another Yaśovarmā or Yaśodharmā who killed Dharmapāla, Vākpati, after he composed *Gauḍavaho* and after he was released, should have become this Yaśodharmā's court poet. But *the Life* describes him as living at Āma's court throughout. (b) It is suggested by Aiyangar that Dharmapāla killed by Yaśovarmā was another Dharmapāla. This is a mere assumption. This Dharmapāla, if he was another Dharmapāla should have been earlier than Dharmapāla, the successor of Gpāla. No such Dharmapāla is known to the Pāla dynasty.

Again, this detail of the Jain story is positively incorrect. The Jain story says that Vākpati composed his *Gauḍavaho* in prison, when he was arrested and imprisoned by Yaśovarmā and Yaśovarmā released him on hearing the recital of *Gauḍavaho*. This is directly contradicted by *Gauḍavaho* itself. It is said in *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpati himself that he composed it at the request of an assembly of men and what is more, Pandit has shown from a study of the text itself that *Gauḍavaho* was actually composed after the death of Yaśovarmā. So the Jain story is positively incorrect in this respect. Again the story says that Vākpati composed his poem named *Mahumahana* after *Gauḍavaho*, but in *Gauḍavaho*, Vākpati himself says that he had already composed the poem named *Mahumahanavijaya*. Thus here also the story is incorrect.

To me it seems that the details about Yaśovarmā and Vākpati found in this story have been put in it through imagination helped by ignorance and that they should have no place in the actual lives of B and Āma.

The capital of Āma is called as Gopagiri or Gwalior by the sources 1 and 2 but as Kanauj by 3. Evidently Āma or Nāgabhaṭṭa II's capital was Gwalior and not Kanauj. But to a writer, who was writing after the days of Mihira Bhoja, Kanauj will be known as the Capital of the Pratihāras. This is why, I think, Āma is described as the ruler of Kanauj in 3. And I think that it is this confusion, which is responsible for bringing in the names of Yaśovarmā and Vākpati in this story, none of whom was a contemporary of B or Āma.

It may, however, be that Nāgabhaṭṭa I may have been known to have been a descendent, a son, a grandson or a great grandson of

king Yaśovarmā of Kanauj. I would put Yaśovarmā's death in c. 650 or 660 A. D. Vatsarāja, who was fourth from Nāgabhaṭṭa I, stopped ruling anywhere between 792 A. D. and 804 A. D. If Vatsarāja came to the throne in c. 760 A. D., it is not impossible to put Nāgabhaṭṭa I's accession in c. 650 or 660 A. D. In that case, Nāgabhaṭṭa I might have even been the son of Yaśovarmā. If so, the confusion is likely. Yaśovarmā, the father of Nāgabhaṭṭa I was mistaken as the father of Nāgabhaṭṭa II, and along with Yaśovarmā, Vākpati is also brought in in the story. This last also serves the purpose of enhancing the greatness of the Jain monk Bappabhaṭṭasuri, as he is described to have converted Vākpati to Jainism.

I, therefore, think that the story of Bappa does not go against placing Yaśovarmā and therefore Lalitāditya in c. 620 A. D. I put Lalitāditya from 574 A. D. to 600 A. D. and Yaśovarmā's rule from c. 605 to 650 or 660 A. D.

But it may be said that not Yaśovarmā but Harṣavardhana was the king of Kanauj from 605 to 643 A. D. I shall, therefore, explain my standpoint.

I think that this story of B is an intermixture of the life-incidents of Nāgabhaṭṭa I and Nāgabhaṭṭa II. It may be that Nāgabhaṭṭa I, not Nāgabhaṭṭa II was a descendent of Yaśovarmā, even a son of Yaśovarmā's daughter as is taken by Munshi. (cf. His mother Sundaridevi was a princess of the family of Yaśovarmā—quoted from *Prabhāvākacarita* 81, ix, 46 by Munshi.) I put Lalitāditya's death in c. 620 A. D. and Yaśovarmā's death in c. 650 A. D. Vatsarāja, the father of Nāgabhaṭṭa II is fourth from Nāgabhaṭṭa I and is taken by the historians as ruling upto 792 A. D. or 804 A. D. From Nāgabhaṭṭa I to Vatsarāja, both including, are four kings. If Nāgabhaṭṭa I came to the throne in c. 650 A. D. after Yaśovarmā and if Vatsarāja died in 795 A. D., these four kings ruled in all for 145 or 150 years. This is not impossible. The first four Guptas in all ruled for 136 years.

Thus, it is not impossible if Nāgabhaṭṭa I was the son or grandson of Yaśovarmā. If so, the confusion (in the story is likely). Nāgabhaṭṭa I was related to Yaśovarmā, whom he succeeded¹. Yaśovarmā had

1. May it not be that Nāgabhaṭṭa I was the same as Nāgabhaṭṭa, the Pratihāra king mentioned in Jodhapur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka? The line represented by Nāgabhaṭṭa II and others started from the brother (unnamed) of Nāgabhaṭṭa I. If so, Nāgabhaṭṭa I could not have been the son of Yaśovarmā, but could still be his daughter's son.

killed a Gauḍa king. Vākpati was a poet at Yaśovarmā's court and very likely at his successor's i. e. Nāgabhaṭṭa I's court. Vākpati, in Prakrit, becomes Bappai. Thus Bappai would be a contemporary of a Nāgabhaṭṭa and Yaśovarmā and also of a Gauḍa king. Nāgabhaṭṭa II was a contemporary of Bappabhaṭṭi and the Gauḍa king Dharmapāla; and, I think, that a confusion between the two Nāgabhaṭṭas has led to the jumble that we find in this Jain story.

Historians tell us that Prabhākaravardhana and therefore Grahavarmā died in 605 A. D., but Harṣa occupied the throne of Kanauj some years later, say 10 years later. What happened to Kanauj throne during these ten years i. e. from 605 to c. 615 A. D.? Historians generally believe that Kanauj, even during this period, was under Harṣa's authority, though he did not actually occupy the throne at Kanauj, till about 615 A. D. But there is no positive evidence to say so. It may be that some one else ruled at Kanauj during these years.

It is known that Grahavarmā had no issue when he died, but he had one or more younger brothers. I suggest that Yaśovarmā was a younger brother of Grahavarmā and occupied the throne of Kanauj, as soon as conditions permitted, after the death of Grahavarmā.¹ If so, he must have come to the throne in 605 or 606 A. D. If so, Harṣa might have considered Yaśovarmā to be an enemy, who usurped the throne which belonged to his sister. As such he might have desired to put him down. But the life-incidents of Yaśovarmā which we know, would show that Yaśovarmā soon became very powerful and was actually able to kill the Gauḍa king and also to undertake a digvijaya. As Śaśaṅka is known to have ruled upto 619 A. D. Yaśovarmā might have ruled upto 620 A. D. During these years Harṣa could not occupy the Kanauj throne. But later in about 620 A. D. he was able to oust Yaśovarmā from Kanauj. Then Yaśovarmā or his successor seems to have settled at Gopagiri or Gwalior, as is suggested by Jain sources. I am, on the whole inclined to take Nāgabhaṭṭa I to

1. cp. Tripathi says (*History of Kanauj* p. 193): "Cunningham thought that he was a descendent of the Maukharis, and the common termination varman- of their names even lends some colour to this view. Besides, they had ruled over Kanauj before the epoch of Harṣa and if it is possible that after the suppression of the usurper the kingdom was restored to some unrecorded member of the house, from whom it devolved on Yaśovarmā—"

be a descendent of Yaśovarmā from his daughter's side. Yaśovarmā might have ruled at Gopagiri for some time more and then the throne seems to have passed on to Nāgabhaṭṭa I or his father.

If such a reconstruction is permissible, my dates for Lalitāditya and Yaśovarmā will be proved to be correct,

I have not examined the Chinese evidence relied upon by the scholars, as I have no first hand knowledge of the Chinese chronological sources.

Thus it comes to this. *Rāj*'s dates for Jayāpīḍa are 751 to 782 A. D., my dates for him are from 625 to 656 A. D. Between these two dates there is a difference of 126 years. Question would naturally arise that even if we believe in all the arguments advanced by me in support of my dates, how are we to explain the dates given in *Rāj*? In other words, how did Kī come to give those dates (751-782) for Jayāpīḍa? I shall explain.

I think that here there has been a manipulation of 100 years plus 26 years. I shall first explain 100 years. Laukika era or Saptarṣi era has two beginnings. According to one school, it started 25 years after the Mbh war or Kali start and according to another school, it started 75 years before the war or Kali start. Thus its beginning is put either in 3177 B. C. or 3077 B. C.¹ And it is due to these two beginnings that there has been a confusion of 100 years in the Kashmir chronology at this stage.

From the death of Chj, which is placed, according to the usual chronology in 3889 S. E. (Saptarṣi era), to the close of the book which took place in 4225 S. E., there had elapsed 336 years. But if, as I say, there has been a deduction of 100 years somewhere in this period, there must have actually elapsed 436 years between Chj's death and the close of the book. I think that this has indeed been the case. I think that at the end of Diddā's reign, there had elapsed 300 years from Chj's death, but instead through some mistake, 200 years were taken as elapsed for the same period. The mistake is likely to have occurred thus.

All of a sudden, from the reign of Ajitāpīḍa, we start getting those dates in S. E. The date 89th is the first mentioned in the

1. See, Cunningham, *Book of Eras*; also 'The Saptarṣi Era' in Part IV of this book.

usual fashion, without writing the centuries (89 instead of 3889). Suppose, in order to explain to which millenium of S. E. the date 89 belonged, some one had noted 3889 in the margin of the original Ms, taking 3177 B. C. (and not 3077 B. C.) as the start of S. E. Later on say at the close of Diddā's reign, some one who followed the other start of S. E. i. e. 3077 B. C., read it. When he will actually work up the chronology from Chj's death to his own day, he will find 300 years given, as they must have been given if 3889th year was based upon 3177 B. C. as the start of S. E. Therefore, working from 3889 S. E. he will find that his own date will be 4189 S. E. But as he followed 3077 B. C. as the start of S. E., he would himself be in 4089 S. E. and not in 4189 S. E. How can this be? His own date cannot be wrong. He would naturally take that marginally noted date 3889 as based upon 3077 B. C. and say that only 200 years and not 300 years had elapsed from the death of Chj to his own date or to the death of Diddā. This, I think, has actually happened in the Kashmir chronology at this period.

Some one has actually misunderstood 3889th year to have been based on S. E. of 3077 and not of 3177 and therefore has taken 200 and not 300 years as elapsed between Chj. and Diddā, and in order to adjust this loss of 100 years has diminished the regnal periods of certain kings in the Utpala and Yaśaskara dynasties. He does not seem to have deducted 100 years all at once but seems to have deducted some years from the regnal periods of various kings. The average of these two dynasties, as they are found today in *Rāj*, is very low. In one case the average is 8.2 and in the other it is 6.5 years. This is abnormally low. If we add 100 years to this period we get an average of 12.2 years, which looking to the disturbed conditions of the time is possible. This doubtful circumstance shows that a deduction of 100 years is likely to have happened. And if this has happened CHJ's death will be brought down from 712 A. D. (3889-3177) to 812 A. D. (3889-3077).

Now I must explain the 26 years. I feel that the year 89th mentioned in IV, 703 does not refer to the end of Chj's rule but to the end of Ajitāpida's rule. The verse which occurs after Ajitāpida's rule is already described fully. Now it is rather strange that a writer who wants to give the year in which Chj died, should not give it while closing the description of his period and while giving the number of years for which he ruled. IV, 687 closes the rule of Chj in the following clear terms:

भुक्तवितो द्वादशाब्दास्तस्मिन्व्यापादिते तथा etc.

Now it is at this place that we should expect to learn the year in which he died. But Kī, though he says that he was killed after 12 years' rule, does not mention the year in which he died. Instead Kī goes on describing the rule of Ajitāpiḍa and it is at the end of the description of his rule that the following verse occurs, which mentions the 89th year:

एकोनवते वर्षे स्वस्रीये शान्तिमागते ।

निर्विघ्नभोगास्तेभूवन्द्द्विंशत्तयावधि ॥ IV, 703.

To say the least, the whole verse is an example of very clumsy expression. Literally translated it would mean, "when the nephew (sister's son) had died in the 89th year, they had uninterrupted enjoyments upto the 26th year." This has been taken in two senses (1) Chj died in the 89th year and his maternal uncles enjoyed well upto the 26th year of S. E. Thus according to this interpretation, Ajitāpiḍa died in the 26th S. E. i. e. he ruled from the 89th to the 26th year i. e. for 37 years. This is how Pandit has taken the verse. Stien also has taken it that way. (2) Dr. Triveda, on the other hand, gives 26 years for Ajitāpiḍa's rule.¹ That would mean that they (i. e. maternal uncles) enjoyed well for 26 years (not upto 26th year) after Chj's death. I think that the original sense must have been like this: "After the nephew died, they had uninterrupted enjoyments ending after 26 years, in the year 89th." That would mean that Ajitāpiḍa ruled for 26 years and died in the year 89th S. E.

That the date of Chj's death and the date of Ajitāpiḍa's acc. are doubtful is admitted by Stien and others also. (see Stien, *Rāj* Trans I. Intr. p. 95-6). If Ratnākara was a contemporary of Chj and also of Avantivarman, the dates given to these kings by Kī cannot stand. The solution given by Stien is of a different type. I would say that after Chj's death, Ajitāpiḍa ruled for 26 years as explained above and then after 5 years (as is stated in *Rāj*) Avantivarman came to the throne. *Rāj* puts five years between the death of Ajitāpiḍa and Avantivarman's acc. I refer the 89th year S. E. to Ajitāpiḍa's death and yet put five years between his death

1. See *Journal of Indian History*. Dr. Triveda has relied upon *Rājatarāṅginī*. *sārasaṅgraha* appended to the Calcutta edition of *Rāj*, where also 26 years are given to Ajitāpiḍa.

and Avantivarman's acc. Thus, according to my scheme, there will be $(26+5=)$ 31 years between Chj's death and Avantivarman's acc. If Ratnākara had written Harivijaya in his young age, say in his 23rd or 24th year and if he wrote it in the last one or two years of Chj's rule, he could have lived on till Avantivarman's reign. If he had lived for about 75 years, he could have lived, according to my scheme, for the first 20 years of Avantivarman's reign. Thus also my suggestion about Ajitāpīḍa ruling for 26 years (i. e. upto the 89th year) seems possible.

I put Jayāpīḍa's dates earlier by 126 years and these 126 years I explain thus:—100 years due to misunderstanding in the beginning of S. E. and 26 years due to 89th year S. E. being taken to refer to Chj's death, instead of Ajitāpīḍa's death.

Let us, now, sum up the whole position and finally clarify certain points. I have differed from K1 on the following points. (1) K1 puts G III's acc. in 1182 B. C., I put it in 1082 B. C. (2) K1 puts Bly's death in 180 B. C., I put his acc in 280 B. C. While discussing this I have shown that originally there were 802 years, then 902 years and then 1002 years between G III's acc and Bly's acc. (not his death). But K1 has taken the same period of 1002 to include Bly's period. In other words, it can be said that K1 does not count Bly's period of 40 years. (3) K1 puts Mātṅgupta's abdication in 110 A. D., I put it in 56 B. C. (4) K1 gives 300 years to Raṇāditya, I give 340 years i. e. K1 omits to count 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit and gives 300 years of the kingless period only. (5) K1 puts Jayāpīḍa's acc in 751 A. D., I put it in 525 A. D. and finally (6) K1 takes 89th year S. E. to refer to Chj's death, I take it to refer to Ajitāpīḍa's death, and thus while K1 gives 37 years to Ajitāpīḍa's rule, I give 26 years to his rule.

I shall, here, explain how precisely these changes came to be introduced in K1's chronology. The Table at the end of this section will show that, according to *Rāj*, there is a total of 991 years and 4 months or roughly 992 years from Pratāpāditya's acc to Chj's death. Now if we put Chj's death in 813 A. D. as is done in *Rāj*, we shall require from his death to the close of the book i. e. to 1148 A. D., $(1148-813=)$ 336 years. Adding these 336 to 992 we get a total of 1328 years from Prtāpāditya's acc (i. e. from after Bly's death) to 1148 A. D.

Now, as we have seen earlier K1 gives a period of 2330 years from G III's acc. to his own days. We, here, get 1328 years from K1's days to Bly's death and we have seen that from Bly's death to G III's acc, K1 has taken a period of 1002 years. Adding 1002 to 1328 we get exactly 2330 years from G III's acc to K1's days. Of course, as pointed out above, by taking 1002 years to come down to Bly's death, K1 has simply ignored i. e. omitted to count Bly's unit of 40 years. Why is this period of 40 years omitted? K1 also omits to count 40 years of Rapāditya's unit. Why does he do so? Thus K1 has omitted $40 + 40 = 80$ years. Again, K1 takes 89 S. E. to refer to Chj's death and I take the same year to refer to Ajitāpīḍa's death, by giving 26 years to his rule. Thus K1 has omitted to count these 26 years also. Thus in all he has omitted to count 106 years. But it is really the mistake of 100 years and not of 106 years. I shall explain soon these 6 years.

Earlier I had said that by putting Bly's acc in 180 B. C. and not in 280 B. C., the period following Bly's acc will be affected by 100 years. And here we find how these 100 years are quietly omitted by the chronology which K1 follows.

Again, as seen above, there has been a deduction of 100 years owing to misunderstanding the start of S. E. These 100 years, I have said, have been deducted from the period from 89 S. E. (Ajitāpīḍa's death) to Diddā's death. If so between 89 S. E. and the close of the book i. e. 1148 A. D., there must have originally been 446 years and not 336 years. I maintain that due to a misunderstanding in the initial point of S. E., some one has deducted 100 years from the period after 89 S. E. and in order to maintain the same total (of 1328 years from Bly's death to 1148 A. D.), has added these 100 years and distributed them in the regnal periods of kings from Pratāpāditya to Toramāṇa. I have shown earlier that, according to MCM of 20 years' unit, we get 180 years from Pratāpāditya to Toramāṇa (both included), but counting the actual regnal periods, we get 286 years for the same 9 kings. This shows a difference of 106 years. I shall explain 6 years just below, but I suggest, that it is here that they have added 100 years taken from the period between 89 S. E. and 1148 A. D. Therefore, let us count the years from Bly's death to 1148 A. D.

	Acc. to K1	Acc. to me
Pratāpā to Mā's acc	286	186
Mārguptis' rule	4	4
Pravarā II's acc to Chj's death (89 S.E.)	702	702 (upto Ajitā's death in 89 S.E.)
89 S. E. to 1148 S. E.	<u>336</u>	<u>436</u>
	1328	1328

This table shows clearly how these 100 years have been shifted from one period to another, without affecting the general total.

Now let us understand the whole position from another point of view. Original calculations, as I suggest, were as under. Bly's acc was in 280 B. C. Then, 40 years for Bly's unit, 180 years for 9 units (from Pratāpā's acc to Mā's acc, 4 years for Mārgupta, 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit, 702 years from Pravaraśena II to Chj's death, 26 years of Ajitāpīḍa's rule upto 89 S. E., and 436 years from 89 S. E. to 1148 A. D. i. e. in all 1428 years, which will give $1428 - 280 = 1148$ A. D. as the date of the close of the book.

But later on they had to adjust 100 years for misunderstanding the initial point of S. E. and 100 years for the start in 2448 i. e. with G1 for both the periods (upto G III's acc and Bly's acc) i. e. 200 years in all. What they did was this. They added 100 years to the 9 units from Pratāpā to Tormāṇa, and thus maintained the total of 1428 years. But they had to deduct 100 years from the period after Bly's acc. For this they omitted 40 years of Bly's unit, 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit and thus deducted 80 years. And they deducted 26 years more by referring 89 S. E. to Chj's death instead of to Ajitāpīḍa's death. But in so doing they deducted $40 + 40 + 26 = 106$ years instead of 100 years. So they added 6 years to the period of 280 years (from Pratāpā to Tormāṇa). That is why we have found the difference of 6 years above, which is thus explained.

This discussion, thus, brings out that (1) original date of Bly's acc was 280 B. C. and not 180 B. C., (2) original total of 9 units after Bly was 180 years and not 280 as we find it to-day, (3) Raṇāditya's period should have been $300 + 40 = 340$ years and not 300 years as we find to-day, (4) the year 89 S. E. referred to Ajitāpīḍa's death and not to Chj's death and (5) there had elapsed 436 years and not 336 years from 89 S. E. to 1148 A. D.

This is how the whole chronology of K1 has been disturbed, and is to be explained. Therefore, the correct dates are as under:

G III's acc.	in	1082 B. C.
Bly's acc.	in	280 B. C.
Mātrigupta's abdication	in	56 B. C.
Harṣa Vikrama's death	in	56 B. C.
Pravarasena II's acc.	in	56 B. C.
Candrāpiḍa's acc.	in	564 A. D.
Jayāpiḍa's rule		625 to 656 A. D.
Chj's rule		675 to 687 A. D.
Ajitāpiḍa's rule		687 to 713 A. D.

And, I claim that these adjustments proposed by me in K1's chronology, are faithful to the original calculation and fit in with every known detail of history.

NOTE

On p. 128 I have said that Tribhuvanāpiḍa was the son of Jayāpiḍa, but according to some, *Rāj* seems to say that Tribhuvanāpiḍa was the eldest son of Vajrāditya and therefore a brother of Jayāpiḍa. In calling Tribhuvanāpiḍa a son of Jayāpiḍa, I also rely upon *Rājatarāṅginīśārasaṅgraha* printed at the end of the Calcutta edition of *Rāj*. There Ajitāpiḍa is called the son of Jayāpiḍa's son, thus:—

ब्राह्मः पुत्रोऽजितापीडो जयापीडमुत्तात्मजः

This expressly says that Ajitāpiḍa was the grandson of Jayāpiḍa. Therefore Tribhuvanāpiḍa who is called the father of Ajitāpiḍa in *Rāj*, must have been Jayāpiḍa's son.

Genealogical Tables

TABLE I

Kings of Kashmir

		Names	Regnal Period			Names	Regnal Period
		1 Gonanda I		53	54	56 Vibhishana I	53-6
		2 Dāmodara		54	55	57 Indrajit	35-6
	1	3 Yaśomati		55	56	58 Rāvaṇa	30
1	2	4 ¹ Gonanda II		56	57	59 Vibhishana II	35
		gap of		57	58	60 Nara I	39-9
36	37	39 35 kings		58	59	61 Siddha	60
37	38	40 Lava		59	60	62 Utpalakṣa	30-6
38	39	41 Kuśa		60	61	63 Hiraṇyākṣa	37-7
39	40	42 Khagendra		61	62	64 Hiraṇyakula	60
40	41	43 Surendra		62	63	65 Vasukula	60
41	42	44 Godhara		63	64	66 Mihirakula	70
42	43	45 Suvarṇa		64	65	67 Baka	63-0-13
43	44	46 Janaka		65	66	68 Kṣitinanda	30-0
44	45	47 Śacinara		66	67	69 Vasunanda	52-2
45	46	48 Aśoka		67	68	70 Nara II	60-0
46	47	49 Jalauka		68	69	71 Akṣa	60-0
47	48	50 Damodara		69	70	72 Gopāditya	60-0
48	49	51 Huṣka		70	71	73 Gokarṇa	57-11
49	50	52 Juṣka		71	72	74 Narendrāditya	36-3-10
50	51	53 Kaniṣka		72	73	75 Yudhiṣṭhira I	no period given
51	52	54 Abhimanyu ²				(Blind) ³	
52	53	55 Gonanda III	35-6				

1. Start has been taken either from G I or Yaśomati or G II.

2. Abhimanyu's number is 51, 52 or 54, but if we take Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka as one number than 49, 50, 52.

3. Bly's number is 72, 73 or 75, but taking HIK as one number it is 70, 71 or 73. Dutt's Calcutta edition of *Raj* gives 79-5-10 years to Bly.

No.	Names	Regnal period	Names	Regnal period
1	Pratāpāditya	32	Prthvyāpida	4-1
2	Jalauka	32	Sangrāmāpida I	0-0-7
3	Tuñjina	36	Jayāpida	31
4	Vijaya	8	Jajja	3
5	Jayendra	37	Lalitāpida	12
	[gap of some days]		Sangrāmāpida II	7
6	Sandhimali	47	Chippaṭa Jayāpida	12
	●		Ajitāpida	26
7	Meghavāhana	34	Anaṅgāpida	3
8	Pravarasena I	30	Utpalāpida	12 ?
9	Hiraṇya	37-2	●	
10	Mātṛgupta	4-9-1	Avantivarma	27-4-18
	[Put on the throne by Harṣa Vikramā- ditya of Ujjain]		Sankaravarma	18-7-19
			Gopalavarma	2
11	Pravarasena II	60	Sankaṣa	0-0-10
12	Yudhisthira ¹ II	36-6	Sugandha	2
13	Narendrāditya II	13	Nirjitavarma	8
14	Raṣāditya	300	Pārtha	15
15	Vikramāditya	42	Nirjitavarm, again	1-1
16	Bālāditya	37-4	Chakravarma	11
	●		Suravarma	1
17	Durlabhavardhana	36	Pārtha, again	0-5-0
18	Durlabhaka	50	Chakravarmā, again	1-11-23
	Chandrāpida	8-8	Unmattāvanti	2-0-7
	Tārāpida	4-0-24	●	
	Lalitāditya	36-7-11	Yaśaskara	9
	Kuvalayāpida	1-0-15	Varṣata	
	Vajrāditya	7	Sangrāmādeva	0-6-8

1. Pandit gives to this king 21-3 years. Stein gives 39-3 or 23-3 years.

Names	Regnal period	Names	Regnal period
Parvagupta	1- 4- 4	Kalaśa	26-1-0
Kṣemagupta	8- 6- 3	Utkarṣa or Harṣa	11-8-29
Abhimanyu	13-10- 3	●	
Nandigupta	1- 1- 9	Ucchala	10-4-1
Tribhuvana	1-11-23	Raḍḍa or Saṅkha	0-0-1
Bhimagupta	5	Salhana	0-3-26
Diddā	22- 9- 3	Sussala	15-9-27
●		Bhikṣācāra	
Sangrāmarāja	24- 9- 8	Vijayasīṃha	22-0-0
Harirāja	0- 0-22	or Jayasīṃha	
Ananta	35- 3-28	upto 1148 A.D.	



TABLE II

	Regnal period acc. to KI	Acc. to KI	Acc. to the modern scholars		
Pratāpāditya	32	BC 180-148		280-248	
Jalaukā	32	148-116		248-216	
Tuñjina	36	116- 80		216-180	
Vijaya	8	80- 72		180-172	
Jayendra	37	72- 35		172-135	
Sandhiman	47	35-12AD		135- 88	
	192				
Meghavāhana	34	12- 46		88- 54	
Pravarasena I	30	46- 76		54- 24	
Hiraṇya	30	76-106		24-6 AD BC	
Mātṛgupta	4	106-110		6- 10	60- 56 AD
	290				
Pravarasena II	60	110-170		10- 70	56- 4
Yudhiṣṭhira	39	170-209		70-109	4- 43
Narendrāditya	13	209-222		109-122	43- 56
Raṇāditya	300	222-522		122-422	56-396
Vikramāditya	42	522-564		422-464	396-438
Bālāditya	37	564-601		464-501	438-475
	491				
Durlabhavardhana	36	601-637	626-662	501-537	475-511
Durlabhaka	50	637-687	662-712	537-587	571-561
Chandrāpida	8	687-696	712-721	587-596	561-570
Tarāpida	4	696-700	721-725	596-600	570-574
Lalitāditya	36	700-736	725-761	600-636	574-610
Kuvalāyapida	1	736-737	761-762	636-637	610-611
Vajrāditya	7	737-744	762-769	637-644	611-618
Prthivyapila	4	744-748	769-773	644-648	618-622
Sangramāpida	-	748-748	773-773	648-648	622-622
Jajja	3	748-751	773-776	648-651	622-625
Jayāpida	31	751-782	776-807	651-652	625-656
Lalitāpida	12	782-794	807-819	652-694	656-668
Sangramāpida	7	794-801	819-826	694-701	668-675
Guṇṇapajayāpida	12	801-813	826-838	701-713	675-687
	211				
Ajitāpida	26				687-713

60-56 — 180

1. First column has the dates acc. to KI's Raj, putting the end of Chj's reign in 89 S. E. (812 A. D.), taking the initial point of S. E. to be 3076 B. C.

2. Modern Scholars, on a Chinese synchronism say that KI has antedated by 25 years. Second column has the dates acc. to this view.

3. Third Column has the dates based upon KI's Chronology, but putting the end of Chj's reign in 89 S. E. (712 A. D.), taking the initial point of S. E. to be 3176 B. C.

4. Fourth Column has the dates based upon the same principles as those in the third column, but putting the end of Ajitāpida's (not Chj's) reign in 89 S. E., taking the initial point of S. E. to be 3176 B. C., and adding 40 of the regnal period of Raṇāditya; 300 years given by KI represent a kingless period, between Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya.

5. In the fifth column are given dates taking 240 B. C. as the date of the death of Bly and acc. of Pratāpāditya. That calculation gives for Mātṛgupta dates from 45-50 A. D. But 106 years are to be deducted from the total regnal period from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta (100 for the adjustment of change in the initial point of S. E. and 6 years left out from Ajitāpida's regnal period.) Deducting those 106 years we get for Mātṛgupta 60 B. C. to 56 B. C.

III

I shall, now, discuss certain questions of a historical nature, connected with ancient Kashmirian period. In fact, I want to discuss such questions regarding which a doubt has been raised.

I. There is no reason why we should doubt the statement that G I was a contemporary of Jarāsandha and that G II was a child at the time of the Mbh war. All our history of Kali age starts with the Mbh war. In Magadha line, it starts with Somādhi, the grandson of Jarāsandha, in Hastināpura line, it starts with Parikṣit the grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira, and in Aikṣvāku line it starts with Bṛhadratha. All these three—Somādhi, Parikṣit and Bṛhadratha were the sons and immediate successors of the kings who were killed in the Mbh war. Therefore, there is nothing wrong if Kashmir history starts with G I or more properly with G II who was the grandson of G I (at the same step as Jarāsandha and Yudhiṣṭhira) and the son of Dāmodara who was killed in the Mbh war. These two kings at least, do not seem to belong to the realm of legend.

II. After G II, we are told by K1 that 35 names were lost to him and that he was able to restore 8 names from Lava to Śacīnara and 5 more from Aśoka to Abhimanyu. Now objection has been taken that K1 has misplaced Aśoka and also the trio of Huṣka-Juṣka and Kaniṣka. Modern scholars take this Aśoka to be the same as Aśoka Maurya and as they put Aśoka Maurya in the 3rd century B. C. this Aśoka, who according to K1's chronology flourished in 14th century B. C., is according to them, misplaced. Again K1 puts HJK who came after Aśoka, 150 years after Buddha while, according to Buddhist traditions Aśoka Maurya came 218 years after Buddha. So all this seems to them legendary, confused and unreliable. But they have never examined the possibility of this Aśoka being quite distinct from Aśoka Maurya.

This Aśoka, whose number in Kī's chronology is 45th from G II is not and cannot be the same as Aśoka Maurya. My reasons for saying so are these. (1) Aśoka is, here, described as the son of the grand uncle (prapitṛvyāja) of Sacinara and great grandson of Sakuni. But Aśoka Maurya was the grandson of Candragupta and the son of Bindusāra. Was Bindusāra the prapitṛvyāja of Sacinara and was Sakuni the name of Candragupta Maurya's father as they should be according to *Rāj*? The modern scholars accuse Kī of giving a fanciful genealogy of Aśoka, but this difference in the genealogies of the two Aśokas, should make us to say that they were distinct. (2) The modern scholars seem to say that Aśoka Maurya's name is inserted in the Kashmirian genealogy because Aśoka had conquered Kashmir. Now I must declare that the ancient Indian genealogists, were not in the habit of doing so. After the Mbh war Kashmir came under Pāṇḍava rule and yet they have mentioned G II separatley. After G II, Harṣadeva, the second son of Parikṣit is described as coming to the throne of Kashmir, not because he was the overlord of Kashmir, but because he actually ruled at Kashmir. We know that Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain has not been given any place in direct genealogy of Kashmir because though he had conquered Kashmir, he did not rule at Kashmir. Therefore it is wrong to say that Aśoka mentioned in Kashmir genealogy is Aśoka Maurya. In fact, the practice, was to ignore the outside conquerors altogether and to add the period of such outside rule to the period of some local king, as we have already seen in the case of Raṇāditya Tuṃjina. (3) Again, this Aśoka is described as following jinaśāsana, which term has been taken to mean Buddhism, but which can also mean Jainism. But the more significant fact is this that this Aśoka is described as propitiating god Śiva for getting a son (I, 107). This we can never expect in the case of Aśoka Maurya. Even Dr. Ghosal has remarked "We, however, think that the chronicler's account of Aśoka's propitiation of Śiva Bhūteśa for obtaining a son for exterminating the mlecchas, is inconsistent with the spirit of the Dharma inculcated in the Edicts" (*IHQ*, Sept, 1942, p. 207). But inspite of this, he does not hesitate in considering this Aśoka as the same as Aśoka Maurya. Is it not a little pre-conceived? Why should we not believe in the words of Kī and say that this Aśoka was quite distinct from Aśoka Maurya? (4) Aśoka is, here, described as propitiating god Śiva for extirpating the mlecchas, who had overpowered the country. Was Aśoka Maurya, the great Maurya Emperor, who had conquered

practically the whole India and whose sphere of influence reached the Hellenistic countries on the border of India, so much reduced in power that the mlecchas actually overran and overpowered (sañcchādita) the whole country? This fact alone should be enough to stop us from identifying this Aśoka with Aśoka Maurya. (5) My dates for this Aśoka are somewhat later than Aśoka Maurya's and thus also the two Aśokas are distinct. For all these reasons, I strongly believe that Aśoka described in Kī's *Raj*, is not the same as Aśoka Maurya and therefore Kī has not misrepresented history by misplacing him.

II. Then it is said that Kī has misplaced Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka. This statement is based on the belief that the Kaniṣka of this trio is the same as Kaniṣka Kushana. Now, I must say that there is no ground on which we can identify these two Kaniṣkas. My reasons for saying so are these. (1) Kī describes these three as Turuṣkānvayodbhūta (I, 170) i. e. as belonging to the family or dynasty of Turuṣka. Turuṣka could well have been the name of the founder of the family, as the suffix ṣka, which is common to all these names, suggests. This suffix ṣka, which is seen here and which is found widely used in the names of many a town situated in Asian Russia, could have been a contracted form (i. e. nil ablaut) of Saka. In that case these could have been Sakas also. But they are not called Kushanas by Kī. Therefore, they are distinct from Kushanas. (2) According to the chronology of *Raj*, these kings lived several centuries before the beginning of Christian era, as will be seen from the Table I. Again Kī puts them 150 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa, while Kaniṣka Kushana is placed 400 or 700 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa. But this question of the date of Buddha's death and the traditional dates based on that date is a complicated one, and I have examined the same later. I have, there, shown that Buddha's death had occurred in 2066 B. C. Now, when Kī says that these three kings flourished 150 years after Buddha's death, he says so after deducting 753 years from the original figure handed down to him. Therefore, originally they must have put this Kaniṣka $753 + 150 = 903$ years after Buddha's death. Therefore, according to my calculations this Kaniṣka's date will be $2066 - 903 = 1163$ B. C. And, it will be seen that the Table I justifies this date of Kaniṣka. Therefore, this Kaniṣka, who lived in c. 1163 B. C., was quite distinct from that Kaniṣka who lived in c. 150 A. D.

(3) These two Kaniṣkas are distinct because Kaniṣka of *Rāj* was a contemporary of the Buddhist monk Nāgārjuna and Kaniṣka Kushana was a contemporary of the Buddhist monks Vasubandhu and Aśvaghoṣa. (4) Moreover, I have to state that these kings have a definite place, at this period, in the ancient Indian history. I have shown earlier that according to the Purāṇas, there had been a break i. e. an empireless period of 300 years (the II kingless period of the Kali chronology), in India proper, between the end of the Mauryan Empire and the beginning of the Sunga empire. This kingless period, I think, was caused by outsiders during the period represented by these seven kings (Aśoka, Jalaukā, Dāmodara, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka and Abhimanyu) of *Rāj*. At this period India proper i. e. the northern India seems to have been under the sway of the outsiders.

Let us see the chronological position of these seven kings as compared with the history of India proper. I have shown that the Mauryan Empire came to an end in 1413 B. C. and Puṣyamitra Sunga came to the throne in 1113 B. C. Therefore, this II kingless period had lasted from 1413 B. C. to 1113 B. C. Now I have put G III's acc., that is, the end of Abhimanyu's rule in 1082 B. C. Therefore Aśoka's accession, according to MCM, will be in $1082 + (7 \times 40) - 280 = c. 1362$ B. C. Now K1 says that Aśoka was harassed by the Mlecchas and he had propitiated Siva to get a son, who extirpated these Mlecchas. Therefore, it is evident that some Mlecchas had become very powerful at this period. They had harassed the country of Kashmir. It is not impossible if they had overrun a large part of northern India. The fact that Jalaukā,¹ the son of Aśoka had conquered the country upto Kanyakubja, may suggest that, that much portion of India, till then, was under the sway of these Mlecchas. If so, it would seem that soon after the breakdown of the Mauryan Empire in c. 1413 B. C., the Mlecchas had overrun and held sway over the Northern India, till Jalaukā extirpated them and himself became the master of all the land upto Kanauj. Jalaukā is described, in *Rāj*, as a great emperor and he ruled at least upto Kanauj in the Northern India.

1. This Jalsukā is taken to be the son of Aśoka Maurya, but there is not a single ground for this assumption in the Buddhist literature. In fact Aśoka of *Rāj*, was not Aśoka Maurya and therefore Jalaukā was not Aśoka Maurya's son.

But the empire thus built up by Jalaukā seems to have passed away from the hands of his descendents, for we are told that Huṣka, a Turuṣka, succeeded Dāmodara the son of Jalaukā. Probably, Huṣka belonged to one of the Mleccha tribes which overran the Northern India and which were extirpated by Jalaukā. At any rate, the Kashmir throne passed away to the family of Turuṣka. And the three kings (Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka) seem to have ruled over the entire portion of the Northern India ruled over by Jalaukā and his son. For, K1 gives them a very peaceful time and that may suggest absence of conflicts. This sway over Northern India seems to have been finally lost in the last days of Abhimanyu (51st) or in the early days of G III, (52nd) for we know that Puṣyamitra Suṅga, whose number in Puranic post-Mbh chronology is 51st had built up an empire himself.

Thus it seems that during the period represented by these seven kings ($7 \times 40 = 280$) of Kashmir, a major portion of Northern India was under the dominance of outsiders. That is why this period from c. 1413 to c. 1113 B. C. (of 300 years) was taken by the Puranic chronologists as a kingless period.

Not only were these disturbances in India caused by these outsiders, but there seems to have been a considerable ascendancy of the Bauddhas during this period, both in India proper and in Kashmir. And thus the Brahmanas, having neither the political ascendancy nor the religious supremacy, seem to have considered this period of 300 years as a gap in the political history of India proper.

This religious condition is clearly recorded in *Rāj.* Aśoka is described as a Buddhist, though he is described to have believed in Saivism also. Then came Jalaukā the successor of Aśoka. He was a staunch Saivite, but Buddhists had harassed him and forced him to build at least one vihāra in Kashmir. (I, 131-48). Thus, during the reigns of Aśoka and Jalaukā, Buddhists seem to be trying to get royal patronage. After Jalaukā came Dāmodara. We are not informed anything clearly about the religious condition in his days. But it is clear (I, 153-67) that Dāmodara himself was not a Buddhist and yet the Buddhists who had started spreading themselves in Kashmir, must have gone on becoming stronger and stronger. For, we are, next, told that during the days of Huṣka,

Juṣka and Kaniṣka, who followed Dāmodara, Kashmir had positively become Buddhist. Buddhism, then, became state-religion. Kī clearly says:

प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणे तेषां प्रायः काश्मीरमण्डलम् ।

मोज्यमास्ते स्म बौद्धानां प्रवर्ज्योर्जिततजसाम् ॥ I, 171

Then came Abhimanyu, who himself was a Saiva, but Kī distinctly says that Buddhists were highly in power in his days.

तस्मिन्नवसरे बौद्धा देशे प्रबलतां ययुः ।

नागाहुनेन बुधिया बोधिसत्त्वेन पाकिता ॥ I, 177

Therefore, from Aśoka to Abhimanyu i. e. for a period of about 300 years, Kashmir had not enjoyed Brahmanical faith without opposition. Every king from Aśoka to Abhimanyu was, more or less, forced to acknowledge the power of Buddhism. But we must see this also. It was recognised as a state religion by Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, who were Turuṣkas and therefore outsiders. The other kings Aśoka, Jalaukā, Dāmodara and Abhimanyu were themselves Saiva, but were forced to acknowledge the growing power of Buddhism in more or less varying degrees.

But after Abhimanyu came GIII, who, for a time, at least, made Brahmanism supreme in Kashmir. That is why Kī eulogises him in the highest terms:

राजा तृतीयो गोनन्दः प्राप्ते राज्ये तदन्तरे ।

यात्रायागादि नागानां प्रावर्तयत् पूर्ववत् ॥ I, 185

राज्ञा प्रवर्तिते तेन पुनर्नीलोदिते विधौ ।

भिक्षवो हिमवोषाथ सर्वतः प्रशमं ययुः ॥ 186

काले काले प्रजापुण्यैः स भवन्ति महीसुतः ।

वैर्मण्डलस्य कियते दशेत्सन्नस्य योजनम् ॥ 187

ये प्रजापीनपरा ते विनश्यन्ति सान्त्वयाः ।

नष्टं तु ये योजयेयुस्तेषां वंशानुगाः श्रिवः ॥ 188

इत्येतत्प्रतिज्ञातं दशेऽस्मिन्वीक्ष्य लक्षणं ।

भाविनां भूमिपालानां प्राज्ञैर्हैयं शुभाशुनम् ॥ 189

नवीकृतवतो देशं तस्य वंशैरियं मही ।

सिद्धैः प्रवरसेनाद्यैश्चिं भुक्ता स्वकर्मभिः ॥ 190

गोनन्दान्वयिनामाद्यः सः रघूणां रघुर्धरा ।

नृपतिः कश्यपी वर्षान्पञ्चात्रिंशतिमन्वशात् ॥ 191

This king G III, is, here, described as spreading Yātrāyāgādi as before. He came as a saviour of Brahmanism. That is why he is compared to Raghu. K1 very clearly says that, in his days, bhikṣus (i. e. Buddhists) and himadoṣas disappeared altogether. After a long period of about 300 years, Kashmir, once again, enjoyed unadulterated and unhampered Brahmanism.

And this is quite in keeping with the history of India proper of that period. We know that Puṣyamitra Suṅga was 51st in Puranic Chronology and Abhimanyu was 51st in Kashmir Chronology. I have put Puṣyamitra's rule from 113 B. C. to 1053 B. C., and Abhimanyu's rule from 1122 B. C. to 1082 B. C. Thus Abhimanyu was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, and this contemporaneity is corroborated indirectly from the internal evidence of *Rāj* itself. K1 says that Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali came to be studied in Kashmir in Abhimanyu's days (I, 176). If, as is generally believed Patañjali was a contemporary, of Puṣyamitra, this is not unlikely, on the contrary, it would suggest the contemporaneity of Abhimanyu and Puṣyamitra.

Then came G III, whose unit I put from 1082 B. C. to 1042 B. C. He might have been a junior contemporary of Puṣyamitra, or might have just followed him. Puṣyamitra himself was a staunch follower and upholder of Brahmanism. He is said to have extirpated the Buddhists and the Jainas. The Buddhist power, therefore, definitely deteriorated in India proper in the days of Puṣyamitra. And, therefore, it was easier, for G III to send away the Buddhists from Kashmir also.

All this shows clearly that these seven kings from Aśoka to Abhimanyu, including Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, fit in very well in the period of 300 years, which had been taken as a kingless period in India proper.

For all these reasons, I do not take Kaniṣka of *Rāj* to be the same as Kaniṣka Kushan. And, K1's record, not only turns out to be very reliable, but provides us with much valuable information and fills up most satisfactorily the II kingless period of 300 years in the Imperial history of Magadha.

IV. Thus we have come upto G III. After G III, so far as I can see, the other period important from the point of view of

Indian history, is the period represented by the six king-names—Utpalākṣa, Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakula, Vasukula, Mihirakula and Baka, whose numbers are 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 respectively. I think that these six kings are the units which represent the III kingless period of 120 years, in the Imperial history of Magadha. I have placed this gap after the Kāṇvas and before the Āndhras i. e. from 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. Let us see what are the dates of the above six kings.

Let us see their dates, according to MCM. In MCM, the individual regnal periods now found against the name of each of the kings are not to be considered. Let us, then apply MCM to these kings.

But I should point out that MCM is likely to have changed in one respect, from the days of G III. I have shown that in the Puranic chronology, from the unit of Puṣyamitra or even from Nandas, a king-unit was taken to have 20 years and not 40 years. Accordingly, I have shown that for the period of 277 years, comprising 112 years of the Sungas, 45 years of the Kāṇvas and 120 years of the III kingless period, the Purāṇas give 14 units (10 Sungas and 4 Kāṇvas) of 20 years each. I, therefore, say that in Kashmir chronology also, the caturyuga (i. e. the king-unit) of 20 years was used from G III onwards. I have put G III's acc in 1082 B. C. From G III to Baka (both included) there are 13 king-names. That is, at the rate of 20 years per king-name, there had been $13 \times 20 = 260$ years from G III's acc to Baka's end. Therefore Baka's end will be in $1082 - 260 = 822$ B. C., and the 14 units (10 Sungas + 4 Kāṇvas) of Puranic chronology starting with Puṣyamitra bring us down to $1113 - 280 = 833$ B. C. Thus these periods tally fairly well.

Now I wish to point out that the four kings—Hiranyakula, Mukula, Vasukula and Mihirakula—are, as their names suggest, Huṇas and they seem to have held sway over large portions of Northern India. About Mihirakula, we are told that he had conquered the whole of India, including Pāṇḍya, Coła, Lāṭa and even Ceylon. So that there is some evidence to say that the Kashmirian Huṇa kings of this period had ruled over Northern India. That will show an absence of Imperial power in Northern India and I have already shown that for 120 years from 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. there was a kingless period in the history of Magadha. Therefore, the rule of these Huṇa kings fills up this gap of 120 years.

This discussion implies that (1) this Mihirakula is not the same as the later Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa of the Eran Inscription, and (2) that a unit of 20 years has been followed in Kashmir chronology at this stage.

But, here a likely objection might be raised. Before, in discussing the period 2921 years upto Bly I have taken resort to a unit of 40 years upto Bly. How, then, can both the units—one of 40 years and one of 20 years—be used for the same king-names? The doubt is valid, and an answer may be attempted here. It seems that from Puṣyamitra and Abhimanyu onwards both the units were followed. Unit of 20 years was used for the sub-periods of a yuga or a Manvantara. Whenever a yuga of 1000 years or 1200 years was over or a Manvantara of 71 units of 40 years each, was over, it seems that they used to make longer chronological computations, but within that period of 1000 or 1200 or 2840 years, chronological computations seem to have been made on important occasions of change of dynasties etc. And for such sub-periods, they seem to have used the unit of 20 years and for the Manvantara computation or yuga computation they seem to have used the unit of 40 years. Therefore, when the longer computation of a yuga or a Manvantara was made, the number of kings which was already adjusted for the sub-periods (on the basis of a unit of 20 years), would be readjusted once again; and out of the list (made on the basis of a unit of 20 years), some (half the number of king-names) would be dropped. But in so doing, the kings who were well marked out in history or who were too near their own times, would not be dropped by the chronologists.

Such a thing seems to have actually happened in Kashmir chronology. It seems that after Abhimanyu, they had calculated some sub-periods according to the unit of 20 years each and at least upto Baka, we have names preserved which are adjusted on the basis of 20 years' unit. Then, when they adjusted in the days of Bly, they readjusted the whole chronology on the basis of 40 years' unit, because, as we shall see soon, a Manvantara was over. At this time, they must have dropped some names after Baka, and some probably before G III. Thus, the double system of the units seems to have been used in Kashmir chronology. We shall soon see that such a double system has been used upto Balāditya, but just now I wish to point out that there is a parallel in Puranic chronology also, of such a double system being used.

I have shown above how 14 king-names (10 Suṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas) represent 14 units of 20 years each. After the Kāṇvas, we have Āndhras. Now for the Āndhras, Purāṇas give 456 years. 456 years at the rate of 20 years' unit will require $456 \div 20 = 23$ king-names. And there is every evidence to show that the Purāṇas had once closed with the 23rd or 24th Āndhra king-name. Therefore, I say that the unit of 20 years was used upto the end of the Āndhras. And yet we know that these same king-names (10 Suṅgas, 4 Kāṇvas and all the Āndhras) are taken as units of 40 years also. In the longer computation from Manu Vaivasvata to Sandrocottus, we are told that Indians had counted 6451 years or 6042 years for 153 kings. This works out at 40 years' unit. This shows that for the longer computation (upto Sandrocottus i. e. Samudragupta in whose days, as in the days of Bly, a Manvantara had been over) the same king-names, which were once taken as units of 20 years each, have been taken as units of 40 years each. This would of course, mean that the longer computation has dropped some names somewhere. We shall not enter into that detail here, but this provides us with a parallel. Therefore, what I have said about the double system in Kashmir chronology is not an isolated phenomenon, but is a part of a regularly organised method.

I shall, now, show how the same double method is used upto Bālāditya. We have seen earlier how kings from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta represent units of 20 years each. But the individual regnal periods for these kings show number of years which are, almost in every case, greater than 20 years. Why is this? I think that for one reason or other¹, they had made a longer computation for the period from Pratāpāditya upto Durlabhaka on the basis of 40 years' unit. I put Pratāpāditya's acc in 240 B. C. and Darlabbhaka's end in 558 A. D. Therefore, from Pratāpāditya to Durlabhaka had passed $240 + 558 = 798$ years. For these 798 years are given $6 + 11 + 2 = 19$ king-names. And we can see that 19th unit (of 40

1. I think that this longer computation was made on the occasion of the completion of a yuga of 1200 years. I have shown that one yuga had been over in 776 A. D. Therefore another yuga will be over in $1200 - 776 = 424$ A. D. And I think that this date fell just before Bālāditya's acc. Therefore they had calculated upto him on the basis of 40 years and some one has brought it down to Durlabhak's end, counting 1200 years from 676 B. C. (which is the start of yuga proper) i. e. $1200 - 676 = 524$ A. D. a date which falls during Durlabhak's rule.

years) was over but not the 20th in the days of Durlabhaka. Thus even here we find this double system used.

V. We shall, now, discuss the period of 300 years given to Raṇāditya Tuṅjina.

About this rule of Raṇāditya, Hasan, as is already noted by me, gives six kings after Narendrāditya, then Raṇāditya, who is given a rule of 60 years, then one more king and then Vikramāditya. This means that according to Hasan's version, after Narendrāditya there were six king-names i.e. $6 \times 40 = 240$ years and then came Raṇāditya on the throne. Putting the end of Narendrāditya's rule in 54 A.D. (See Table), we can put Raṇāditya's acc. in $54 + 240 = 294$ A.D. Then, according to Hasan, Raṇāditya ruled for 60 years i.e. from 294 A.D. to 354 A.D. Then, one more unit is given by Hasan and two more by Kl, till the rise of Kārka dynasty. Therefore the rule of Kārka dynasty started in 354 A.D. $+ 120 = 474$ A.D.

Thus the real gap between Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya will be of 240 years from 54 A.D. to 294 A.D. (the date of Raṇāditya's acc.). I suggest that this gap of 240 years was filled up by the Kadpheses and the Kushanas.

Now I find that there is enough scope for outside domination in Kashmir in the first two and a half centuries of Christian era. We have seen that Vikramāditya (of Ujjain) died and Maṅgupta abdicated in 56 B.C. Thus Pravarasena II came to the throne in 56 B.C. According to Kl, Pravarasena II seems to have been a really great king. He seems to have ruled from Bihar to Surāṣṭra and from Kashmir to Malava (*Raj*, III, 324-31). This was truly an empire. At this period therefore Kushanas could not be in power. Pravarasena II is given a rule of 60 years. After Pravarasena II came Yudhiṣṭhira and then Narendrāditya, whose rule thus would come to an end in 54 A.D. Kl says that these three kings were very powerful. That means that the empire established by Pravarasena II, lasted upto 54 A.D. But by 54 A.D., i.e. by the time of Narendrāditya's death, Kadpheses I had been powerful and started being felt in India proper also. Soon after, Vima conquered India upto Benares and Mathura. That means that Kashmir kings lost their hold over India and soon after the death of Narendrāditya, Kashmir fell under the sway of the Kadpheseses.

I believe that Kaniska Kushana came to power in c. 150 A. D. and Kushana empire in India lasted upto c. 250 A. D. Therefore from 54 A. D. to c. 250 A. D. Kashmir was under the sway of Kadphesenes and Kushanas. It seems that Kushan power lingered on in Kashmir upto 294 A. D., in which year rose Rapaditya who once again established an empire. That even during this period of 240 years, the local Kashmir princes were trying to get their power back is shown by the following. According to Hieun Tsang (Watters I. p. 278-9) "we are told that after Kaniska's death, a native dynasty had arisen in Kashmir and its sovereign had become a persecutor of Buddhism. Hereupon the king of Himatala, who was Sakya by descent and a zealous Buddhist, determined to drive the cruel Kritya king from his throne and restore Buddhism. By a strategem, he succeeded in killing the king of Kashmir. He then banished the chief minister of the court and reinstated sovereignty and at Yuvan-chwang's time the country had no faith in Buddhism and gave itself up to other sects."

This shows that (1) Kaniska did hold sway over Kashmir, (2) Some time after Kaniska's death, i. e. after the end of Kaniska's dynasty a native prince regained Kashmir. (3) This native prince was killed by another Buddhist king (king of Himatala) and finally, (4) once again Kashmir came under the sway of kings following Brahmanism. I think that these stages preserve the details of the vicissitudes of the history of Kashmir from c. 54 A. D. to c. 400 A. D. I put the downfall of the Kushan dynasty in c. 248 A. D. Sometime after this i. e. in c. 294 A. D. Rapaditya freed the country of Kashmir from the Kushan rule. But this Rapaditya in his turn seems to have been defeated by the king of Himatala. According to Hieun Tsang Himatala, the king of Tokhara assassinated the native Kritya king in the 600th year after Buddha's death (see Watters I. p. 278). In the next Chapter, I have given the latest date of Buddha's death as 243 B. C. According to that date Himatala's victory over Kashmir would be placed in $600-243=357$ A. D. I have placed Rapaditya's acc. in c. 294 A. D., so that it is not impossible if Rapaditya was defeated by the king of Himatala in c. 327 B. C. But this victory of the king of Himatala was short-lived, for soon the successor of Rapaditya, whose name seems to have been Vinayaditya, sent the foreigners out of the country. Thus the empire built up by Rapaditya was continued, after a short break by Vinayaditya.

Both Raṇāditya and Vinayāditya are considered to have been great kings and great protectors of Brahmanism. Foreign domination in Kashmir had started from 54 A. D. and continued till 294 A. D. i. e. for about two and a half centuries. It was at the end of this long period of foreign domination that Raṇāditya, like G III, came and delivered the native country from outside rule. That is why K1 describes Raṇāditya as a great emperor and saviour of Kashmir. He says:

राजवंश्येभ्यनेकेषु राहोर्वंशद्वये परम् ।

द्वयोरेवात्र निर्व्यूढि प्रजावात्सल्यमागतम् ॥ III, 472

रणादित्यस्य गौनन्दवंशे रामस्य राघवे ।

लोकान्तरमुखस्यापि यथोरशमुजः प्रजाः ॥ 473

This praise is couched in the same language as the one in which G III is praised. Raṇāditya seems to have fought many a battle (III, 386-9). He seems to have married the daughter (named Raṇarambhā) of a Cola king named Ratisena (III, 432-6). This would show that the sphere of his influence reached far and wide, and we can easily assume that he had put down the final vestiges of the Kushan power and had been a regular emperor of Northern India. The empire thus built up had prospered upto the days of Balāditya, for he is said to have added Bengal to his empire (III, 479-80). Raṇāditya was a great king. He, like G III and Puṣyamitra came at the end of a long-period of outside domination and ousted these outsiders from his land and re-established the empire founded by Pravarasena II. The very fact that he is described in superlative terms shows that he must have liberated his people from the yoke of foreigners. Thus we can successfully account for the abnormal period of 300 years given to Raṇāditya. What has happened is this that, as in Puranic chronology, so in Kashmir chronology, chronologists have refused to recognise the foreign rule and added the whole period of foreign domination to Raṇāditya's unit.

Of course, if we are to believe in Hieun Tsang, Raṇāditya seems to have been defeated and even murdered by the king of Himatala in 327 A. D. But, as I have said above, soon his successor Vinayāditya defeated the king of Himatala and continued the empire re-established by Raṇāditya. That is why, as Pt. Kaul informs us (same, p. 202), "even upto now his name is a household word among the Kashmiris and is remembered as to have been a most virtuous and noble king of Kashmir."

Thus can we explain the period of 300 years given to Rāṇaditya.

VI. I have said in the beginning of this Chapter that MCM has been used in Kashmir chronology. We have found ample evidence of this in considering the various details of Kashmir chronology. I shall however, sum up this evidence here.

(1) We have found that original figures of 2019 years and 2921 years for the two periods had been based upon MCM, first (upto G III's acc.) on the basis of 51 king-names and the second (upto Bly's acc.) on the basis of 73 king-names.

(2) We have seen that the calculation made according to MCM, which puts Abhimanyu in 1122-1082 B. C. and G III in 1082-1042 B. C. is corroborated by the synchronism of Abhimanyu and G III with Puṣyamitra. This synchronism is also proved by the Mahābhāṣya being first introduced in Kashmir in the days of Abhimanyu, who was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra.

(3) We find 20 king-names from G III to Bly (excluded). These 20 king-names will give a period of 800 years, and we have seen that in the original calculation, 802 years had been taken as elapsed from the acc. of G III to the acc. of Bly.

(4) We find that Kashmir chronologists had computed the long periods twice, once in the days of G III, and then in the days of Bly. Why did they select these two king's rules for computing general periods (of 2019 years and 2921 years)? I shall explain. (i) The first general period was computed in the days of G III and this king was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. In their days there had been a general reconstruction and revision of all the questions. It is quite likely that they made a general computation to mark the beginning of a period of resuscitated Brahmanism. (ii) The second computation was made in the days of Bly. His number in Kashmir chronology is 72nd from G II (thus:— 51 kings from G II to G III's acc + 21 kings from G III to Bly). Now as I have said earlier G II was at the same step as Parikṣit. Therefore G II's number like that of Parikṣit, was 72nd from Manu Vaisvasvata. And, as in the case of Puranic chronology, so in the case of Kashmir chronology, a new Manvantara was taken as started with the 72nd unit i. e. with Parikṣit and G II. A Manvantara was taken to have 71 units. So, the new Manvantara started with G II came to an end with the acc. of Bly, whose number,

as we have seen, was 72nd from G II. It was for this reason of closing a Manvantara that the Kashmir chronologists marked off the chronological period upto Bly's acc. as distinct and made a general computation upto Bly's acc.

(5) We have seen how MCM with 40 years' unit has been used in the case of 20 kings from G III to Bly's acc. We have also seen that MCM with 20 years' unit has been used for these same king-names, at least for the 14 king-names beginning with Abhimanyu and ending with Baka. We have also seen how this employment of 20 years' unit at this period in Kashmir is seen corroborated by a similar employment of 20 years' unit in the Puranic chronology from Puṣyamitra to the end of the Āndhras.

(6) We have seen how MCM with 20 years' unit has been used from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta. Taking Pratāpāditya's acc. in 240 B. C., we get Mātṛgupta's acc. in 60 B. C., by taking 180 years for the 9 king-names from Pratāpāditya to Toramāpa. And 4 years' rule of Mātṛgupta puts his abdication and Harṣa Vikrama's death in 56 B. C. And we have seen that this date is corroborated from both the ends.

(7) We have seen how MCM with 40 years' unit has been used from Pravarasena II to Durlabhaka. For these 8 king-names, we have taken 320 years. Adding to these 320 years, the 300 years of the interregnum caused by the Kadphesses and Kushans, we get 620 years. And we have seen that this period of 620 years worked out according to MCM and corroborated by Hasan's version) gives us a date of Jayāditya, which is supported by an almost overwhelming evidence.

(8) We have also seen that 340 years for Raṇāditya as taken by us, are accounted for by Hasan's version in accordance with MCM. Hasan gives 7 king-names + 60 years for Raṇāditya's rule i. e. $280 + 60 = 340$ years in all.

All these points definitely and conclusively prove that Kashmir chronology, upto Durlabhaka, has been based upon MCM.

CHAPTER TWO

VARIOUS CHRONOLOGICAL COMPUTATIONS

I

THERE is one aspect of the Ancient Indian Chronological system, which is very important and therefore worth properly understanding. While considering the post-Mbh Magadha chronology, I have shown, on the authority of Arrian and the Purāṇas that the Purāṇic Chronologists have considered three periods as Republican or Kingless periods. These three periods, I have shown, had occurred thus: (1) First kingless period of 350 years had occurred after the Śaiśunāgas and before the Nandas. In fact from the accession of Mahānanda (Śaiśunāga) to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, 350 years had elapsed and the whole of that period had been taken as a kingless period. (2) Second kingless period of 300 years had occurred after the Mauryas and before the Sungas. (3) Third kingless period of 120 years had occurred after the Sungas and before the Kāṇvas.

Now, with regard to these kingless periods, the important point to be remembered is this that in one school of Purāṇas (represented by Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa) these years of the kingless periods were altogether ignored i.e. total dynastic periods showed so many years less, while in the other school (most probably represented by the Bhaviṣya) these years were either distributed in the total dynastic periods of the preceding or following dynasty, or were added to the total of one single dynasty. Thus, we find that the Purāṇs give 1150 years or 1500 years between Parikṣit and Mahāpadma's accession. These two figures represent the two above-noted schools. Those that give 1500 years, give 360 or 362 years to the Śaiśunāgas and thus adjust the 350 years of the first kingless period, which occurred before Mahāpadma's accession. Others

who give 1150 years, simply ignore the 350 years of the first kingless period, and give or originally gave 10 or 12 years to the Śaiśunāgas. Thus, here, we find two schools of the Purāṇas, one which includes and adjusts the 350 years of the kingless period in the scheme of its chronology, and the other which ignores and omits to include the years of the kingless period.

This practice is continued later also. We have also found that one Purāṇic school omits the other two periods of 420 years and the other school includes and adjusts the two periods of 420 years.

Thus in the days of the Āndhras and later there will exist these two schools; and the result will be that one school, by omitting to include 770 (350 + 300 + 120) years of these three periods, will bring down the date of any given incident, say of the Mbh war by 770 years. This is a point worth grasping fully. I shall explain what I mean. In the days of Mahāpadma Nanda, one school placed Mbh war 1500 years before Mahāpadma's accession and the other school by omitting to include 350 years the First Kingless period, placed it 1150 years before Mahāpadma's accession. This difference, as I have explained, was caused by inclusion or non-inclusion of the 350 years of the First Kingless Period. In the days of the Śuṅgas, besides these 350 years, 300 years of the Second Kingless period (which occurred between the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas) will be included by one school and will not be included by the other school. The position, then, will be this. In the days of the Śuṅgas, the chronologists had to add (86 my figure for the Nandas + 137 years for the Mauryas + 300 years of the Second Kingless period =) 523 years to the earlier totals upto the accession of Mahāpadma. They had two such totals viz., 1150 and 1500 years. Again, even out of these 523 years, one school will add all the 523 years and the other only 223 years, omitting the 300 years (of the second gap). Both these—223 or 523—may be added either to 1150 or to 1500. Thus there would be so many possibilities

1150	1150	1500	1500
<u>523</u>	<u>223</u>	<u>523</u>	<u>223</u>
1673	1373	2023	1723

Thus in the days of the Śuṅgas according to different calculations, the Mbh war may be taken as earlier to the accession of Puṣyamitra by 1673 or 1373 or 2023 years.

Again in the days of the Āndhras they will have to adjust the 112 years of the Sungas, 120 years of the Third Kingless Period and 45 years of the Kāvyas i. e. in all 277 years. But, to the four totals given above (which all may be separately current in their days), one school will add all these 277 years and the other school will add only 157 years omitting 120 years of the Third Kingless Period. Thus we may have:

2023	2023	1723	1723	1673	1673	1373	1373
277	257	277	157	277	157	277	157
2300	2280	2000	1880	1950	1830	1650	1530

Thus in the days of the first Āndhra, Mbh war may be taken to have happened before 2300, 2280, 2000, 1880, 1950, 1830, 1650, or 1530 years.

Thus the Mbh war or any other incident will be brought down by 350 years or 300 years or 120 years or $(350 + 300) = 650$ years or $(350 + 120) = 470$ years or $(300 + 120) = 420$ years or by $(350 + 300 + 120) = 770$ years. This omission is a very peculiar but a very important point to bear in mind, while considering the question of Ancient Indian Chronology.

Along with this there is one other point to be understood. Kalhapa, in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī (I, 51 ff) has noted that there were two views current about the date of the Mbh war—one school placed the Mbh war in 3101 B. C. and the other in 2448 B. C., thus showing a difference of 653 years. While examining the ancient Kashmir Chronology I have shown that the difference sometimes was taken to be of 653 years and sometimes of 753 years. This difference of 100 years was due to the 100 years of Kali-Sandhyā. This difference of 653 or 753 years in the date of the Mbh war was not due to the omission or non-omission of one of the above Kingless Periods. It was entirely due to a misunderstanding of the verse āsanmaghāsu etc. But this difference having arisen, the date of the Mbh war and of any other incident may be brought down by 653 or 753 years. But it may also be lowered by 653 or 753 years plus any number of years from the above list viz; 350, 300, 120, 650, 470, 420 or 770. Thus the date may be lowered by 653 or 753 or by $350 + 653$ or 753, $300 + 653$ or 753, $120 + 653$ or 753, $650 + 653$ or 753, $470 + 653$ or 753, $420 + 653$ or 753 or $770 + 653$ or 753. These are all possibilities, though all of them are not seen as actually occurring in chronological calculations. But

I have found that lowering the date by 350 years or by 420 years or by 770 years or by 653 years or by 753 years or by $770+653=1423$ years or by $770+753=1523$ years is actually seen in certain chronological computations.

Before proceeding further, I must say that the Puranic calculations, show omissions of only (one or more) the Kingless periods (as we have seen above), the Kashmir calculations of only 653 or 753 years, but the Buddhistic and Jain calculations show omissions of the three periods or of 653 or 753 years or of the combinations of both. I shall show this by examining some Buddhistic and Jain chronological computations.

Let us first consider the question of the date of Buddha's death. The modern scholars, consistent with the modern scheme of ancient Indian chronology, put this date in c. 525 B. C. But Buddhist tradition as prevalent in various parts of Asia, has noted a number of dates for Buddha's death. I shall first note down all such dates, as have, so far, come to my knowledge.

(1) Fa Hein says that at the time when he wrote, 1497 years had elapsed since the death of Buddha. Fa Hein was in India from 405-411 A. D. So he must have made this statement some time after 411 A. D. Thus, according to his calculations the period of Buddha's death will be somewhere nearer $1497-411=1086$ B. C.

(2) Hiuen Tsang notes that in his days (c. 640 A.D.) there were various views held about the date of Buddha's death. "There are also," the pilgrim adds, "differences of statement as to the time which had elapsed since the Buddha's death, some authorities giving above 1200 years, some 1300, some 1500 and some only 900 and under 1000". (Watters, ii, P. 28). Thus according to these different views, the date of Buddha's death will be approximately either $(1500-640=)$ 860 B. C. or $(1300-640=)$ 660 B. C. or $(1200-640=)$ 560 B. C. or $(900-640=)$ 260 B. C. We should remember that the pilgrim gives round numbers only and therefore these dates are approximate and not exact.

(3) It is said that Chinese tradition in general, puts Buddha's death in 638 or 639 B. C.

(4) Traditions in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Assam etc. generally put Buddha's death in 544 or 543 B. C.

(5) Max Muller has given¹ as many as 14 dates current in Tibetan chronology. They are 2422 B. C., 2148 B. C., 2139 B. C., 2135 B. C., 1310 B. C., 1060 B. C., 834 B. C., 882 B. C., 880 B. C., 837 B. C., 752 B. C., 653 B. C., 576 B. C. and 546 B. C.

In the vast Buddhistic literature scattered over vaster area, it is likely that there are preserved some more dates, but they have not come to my knowledge. I shall therefore arrange these dates in proper order.

2422 B. C., 2148 B. C., 2139 B. C., 2135 B. C., 1310 B. C., 1086 B. C., 1060 B. C., 884 B. C., 882 B. C., 880 B. C., 860 B. C., 857 B. C., 752 B. C., 660 B. C., 653 B. C., 639 B. C., 638 B. C., 576 B. C., 560 B. C., 546 B. C., 544 B. C., 543 B. C., and 260 B. C.

Thus we get more than 20 dates for Buddha's death. Add to this the date (487 B. C.) arrived at from the Cantonese evidence. Out of all these dates the modern scholars accept 487 B. C. or 543 B. C., or any date (of their own creation) somewhere nearer these dates. They summarily reject all the other dates. They do not even condescend to consider and note most of these dates. It has never occurred to them to explain, even while rejecting them, why and how these different dates had become current. Their attitude in this respect has been one of grossest negligence. But I think that in any scientific inquiry, we should not brush aside any traditions or traditional calculations so unceremoniously. It is true that when there is so much confusion and conflict, it becomes not only our right but our duty to select any one as correct; but I think that it is not enough to select and support the tradition which we consider to be correct, but it is also necessary to explain how and why the other traditions came into existence. Traditions however wild and fantastic, never come into existence without sufficient reasons; and it is the duty of a student to find out these reasons. For want of material or knowledge it may, sometimes, happen that we are not able to find out the reasons; but then our inquiry so far should be taken as incomplete.

In the present instance, I think all these different dates can be satisfactorily explained. I have already said that a great amount of chronological confusion is likely to have ensued on account of

1. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 139. He has noted these dates in a foot-note and has said that they are given in a Tibetan Grammar by Csoma. I have not seen the Tibetan Grammar. One can be more definite only after seeing the original.

the inclusion or non-inclusion of the various number of years noted above. I shall now explain these dates on that basis. But before that I shall state the correct date of Buddha's death according to my views.

I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. and that of Chandragupta Maurya in 1550 B. C. Then according to Buddhist tradition, Chandragupta ruled for 24 years and Bindusāra for 28 years. Thus Aśoka's coronation happened in $1550-52=1498$ B. C. Now the Buddhist tradition says that Aśoka was coronated 218 years after Buddha's death. This will put Buddha's death in $1498+218=1716$ B. C. But Buddha flourished earlier than Mahānanda, whose accession I put in 1986 B. C. Therefore, I think that the figure 218 does not include 350 years of the First Kingless Period. If we add these 350 years, we get $1716+350=2066$ B. C. as the the date of Buddha's death. And I submit that this is the correct date of Buddha's death.

But this date seems to come in conflict with one calculation. Mahāvāṇsa records that Ājātasatru ruled for 24 years after the death of Buddha. Then Udāyibhadda ruled for 16 years, then the sons of Udāyi ruled for 8 years, then Nāga Dāsaka ruled for 24 years and then Susunāga was elected who ruled for 18 years. Then Mahānanda came to the throne. This gives us $24+16+8+24+18=90$ years from Buddha's death to the accession of Mahānanda. I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. Therefore, according to this calculation, Buddha's death will be in $1986+90=2076$ B. C. and I have put it in 2066 B. C. Thus here there is a difference of 10 years. I think that the error is caused by taking 18 instead of 8 years for Susu(Sisu)nāga. But I suggest that let us take 2066 B. C. as the real date of Buddha's death and see how it fits in with the subsequent adjustments in the date of Buddha's death.

Now let us examine the various dates of Buddhanirvāṇa given above. (1) Fa Hein's date is c. 1086 B. C. I suggest that the tradition that Fa Hein had followed omitted 653 years plus 350 years of the First Kingless Period. If so the date of Buddha's death which originally was 2066 B. C., will be brought down to $2066-(653+350=1003)=1063$ B. C. Fa Hein's date is somewhere nearer 1086 B. C. There is a difference of 23 years between the two dates. It can be explained if we suppose that Fa Hein made his statement not in 411 A. D., but in 434 A. D., which is not unlikely.

(2) Hiuen Tsang has given four dates—860 B. C., 660 B. C., 560 B. C., and 260 B. C. These are, as we have seen, approximate dates. Now let us see how these four different dates have come into existence. One who omits 420 years (of the Second and the Third Kingless Periods) + 753 years i. e. 1173 years in all, will get $2066 - 1173 = 893$ B. C. as the date of Buddha's death and this is approximately the same as 860 B. C. Again, one who omits 770 years (of the three gaps) + 653 years i. e. 1423 years in all, will get $2066 - 1423 = 643$ B. C. as the date of Buddha's death and it is approximately the same as 660 B. C. Similarly, one who omits, $770 + 753$ i. e. 1523 years in all, will get 543 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death, which is approximately the same as 560 B. C. Thus we can explain three out of the four dates current in the days of the pilgrim. We can also explain the last date i. e. c. 260 B. C. Though the Puranic traditions after the Āndhras are at present almost lost to us, we find that in the Kashmir chronology, there had been a period of 300 years which was taken as Kingless. This period, as I have shown, had occurred from 56 A. D. to 356 A. D. It is represented in the chronology of Kalhaṇa, by the 300 years given to the rule of Raṇāditya. It seems that at a later date some one omitted these 300 years also and thus the date of Buddha's death came down by further 300 years. That is, in this latest stage, they will omit $770 + 753 + 300 = 1823$ years in all and thus the date will be $2066 - 1823 = 243$ B. C., which is approximately the same as 260 B. C.

(3) General date for Buddha's death in Chinese tradition is 638 or 639 B. C. Now, by omitting $770 + 653 = 1323$ years, we get $2066 - 1323 = 743$ B. C. This shows a difference of 4 years. This difference of 4 years is caused by a further omission of the first 4 years of Aśoka's rule, during which he was not coronated. That is, someone took these four years as a kingless period and, therefore, deducted them from the general computation and thus got 638 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death.

(4) Traditions in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Assam etc. generally put Buddha's death in 543 B. C. It is now clear that this calculation omits $770 + 753 = 1523$ years and thus gets $2066 - 1523 = 543$ B. C.

Considerations so far made bring out the following facts:

(1) The original date of Buddha's death was 2066 B. C. and not 2076 B. C., as it is 2066 B. C., which by the various omissions, yields the various current dates, particularly the dates 643 B. C. and 543 B. C. If the original date had been 2076 B. C., the current date would have been 553 B. C. and not 543 B. C. Thus the difference of 10 years was caused by taking 90 instead of 80 years between Buddha's death and Mahānanda's accession.

(2) Buddhist chronologists have based their calculations after omitting 653 or 753 years and/or by omitting one or more or all the Kingless Periods.

(3) We also find that a difference of 4 years was caused by the Kingless Period of 4 years that had elapsed between the accession and the formal coronation of Asoka.

(4) We find dates like 638 or 639 B. C. and 544 or 543 B. C. This difference of one year is, I think, caused by the starting point of the era, as we find in the case of Vikrama era (56 B. C. or 57 B. C.).

(5) Thus, in considering further, we may find a difference of 4 or 10 years or of 3 or 9 years or of 1 year, in any calculation due to any of the above misunderstandings.

Bearing this in mind, I shall, now, explain the various dates given by Max Müller. But before that I think it will be convenient if we tabulate all the possible dates of Buddha's death which might be arrived at by the omission of 653 or 753 and/or of the Kingless Periods. I shall, therefore, here, give a consolidated table for the various possible dates (though all may not be found employed in actual practice) of Buddha's death.

B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
2066	2066	2066	2066	2066	2066	2066	2066
350	300	120	650	470	420	770	653
1716	1766	1946	1416	1596	1646	1296	1413
653	653	653	653	653	653	653	100
1053	1113	1293	763	943	993	643	1313
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
953	1013	1193	603	843	893	543	
						300	
						243	B. C.

Keeping in mind that any one of these dates is possible to be misunderstood as the date of Buddha's death, due to various omissions, let us now examine the dates given by Max Müller. I think I shall be able to explain all the dates except the first i. e. 2422 B. C.

I think that the three dates 2148 B. C., 2139 B. C., and 2139 B. C. are not the dates of Buddha's death but are the dates of his birth. (I have not seen the original Tibetan texts on which these dates are based and that is a positive handicap.) He is supposed to have lived for 82 or 83 years. My date of his death is 2055 B. C.; add to this 82 and we get $2055+82=2148$ B. C. as the date of his birth. The other date 2139 B. C. is less by 9 and third date -2135 B. C.— is still less by 4 years. But we have seen that a difference of 9 or 4 years may be expected.

Then we take up 1310 B. C. In the table we have a date which is 1313 B. C. and between these two dates there is a difference of 3 years i. e. of 4 years which is caused by Aśoka's Kingless Period.

Similarly, in our table we have a date 1053 B. C. and in Max Müller's list, we have a date 1050 B. C. They are the same, the difference of 3 years being explained as above.

Then we have got in Max Müller's list, 884 B. C., 882 B. C., 880 B. C. and 837 B. C. In the above table, we have a date 893 B. C. 884 B. C. is less by 9 and 880 less by further 4 years. 882 B. C. is due to some confusion. Similarly, I cannot exactly explain the date 837 B. C. unless there has been a double deduction of 3 ($3+3=6$) from 843 B. C., a date which we find in our table. But the difference is not big and there might have been any sort of confusion.

Then we have 752 B. C. in Max Müller's list and 743 B. C. in our table showing a difference of 9 years, which is to be expected.

Similarly 553 B. C. of Max Müller's list shows a difference of 10 years when compared with 543 B. C. of the Table and 545 B. C. of Max Müller's list shows a difference of 3 years when compared with 543 B. C. of our Table. Both these may be expected.

Thus on an examination of the various dates of Buddha's death, we find that they are all explainable on the assumption of

2066 B. C. as the real date of Buddha's death and on the assumption of the theory propounded by me, of the omission or non-omission of the various periods. These considerations, therefore show that the omission or non-omission (the two schools) of which I have talked in the beginning of this paper are actually found employed in various calculations. This is also proved by some other considerations, but before I take up those, I should remark that so far as the date of Buddha's death is concerned, over and above the confusions noted above, there is a possibility of some other type of confusion. Certain dates may be as important in the life of Buddha e. g. the date of his birth, or of his abandoning the house, or of his first getting Buddhahood, or of his first sermon, or of his death. And any one of these dates may be, through confusion, taken as the date of his death. But in this case the maximum difference will be of 82 or 84 years.

As we find many dates for Buddha's death, so we find more than one date current for certain other incidents also. Let us take Asoka's date.

Max Müller (*Hist. of Ancient San. Lit.* P. 134-5) has noted that the Chinese chronicles put Asoka (i.e. Asoka's accession or coronation) in 850 B. C. or 750 B. C. According to the modern historians who put Asoka in c. 275 B. C., these two dates will remain unexplained. They will simply ignore them. I have, however, put Asoka's coronation in 1498 B. C. Therefore taking 1498 B. C. as the correct date of his coronation let us see how these two dates are arrived at. I think that these two dates were obtained by omitting 653 or 753 years. If we deduct 653 or 753 from 1498, we get 845 B. C. or 745 B. C. as Asoka's date. These will be the dates of his coronation. Therefore his accession, which was earlier by 4 years will be in 849 B. C. or 749 B. C., and these are the years given by the Chinese Chronicles (850 and 750 B. C.), the difference of one year having been already explained by me.

Max Müller has also noted that the Ceylonese chroniclers put Asoka's date in 315 B. C. Now this date is clearly based on the usual date of Buddha's death viz. 543 B. C. But if we deduct 218 (which is known to be the interval between Buddha's death and Asoka), from 543 B. C., we get 325 B. C. and not 315 B. C. as the date of Asoka. This shows the difference of 10 years which we have noted earlier.

Let us consider the date of Kanishka.

(1) *Rājatarāṅgī* (I, 170) puts Kanishka 150 years after Buddha's death. This Kanishka is not Kanishka Kushāṇa, but an earlier Kanishka who ruled in Kashmir. Kalhana puts the accession of Gonanda III in 1182 B. C., but, I have earlier shown that the accession of Gonanda III is to be put in 1082 B. C. and not in 1182 B. C. Before Gonanda III ruled Abhimanyu and before Abhimanyu ruled Kanishka. Thus Kanishka's accession will be according to MCM, 80 years earlier i. e. in $1082 + 80 = 1162$ B. C. Therefore, Kanishka really came $(2066 - 1162 =)$ 904 years after Buddha's death. But in Kalhana's chronology, either 653 or 753 years have been omitted throughout. If we deduct 753 from 904 we get 157 years. That is why Kalhana says that Kanishka came 150 years after Buddha's death.

(2) According to certain Chinese traditions Kanishka came 700 years after Buddha's death. This refers to Kanishka Kushāṇa. I put this Kanishka's accession in c. 150 A. D. Taking 543 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death, this Kanishka will be $543 + 150 = 693$ years or in round numbers 700 years later than Buddha's death.

(3) Hsien Tsang (I, P. 203) puts Kanishka 400 years after Buddha's death. This calculation is based upon 243 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death. Taking Buddha's death to be in 243 B. C. Kanishka will be $243 + 150 = 393$ or in round number 400 years later than Buddha's death.

One Ceylonese tradition puts Chandragupta Maurya's accession to be 162 years after the death of Buddha. (*Indian Culture* II, p. 560) I put Chandragupta Maurya's accession in 1550 B. C. Add to this 162 and 350 of the First Kingless Period, and we get $1550 + 162 + 350 = 2062$ B. C. as the date of Buddha's death. My date for Buddha's death is 2066 B. C. This only means that this difference of four years is caused by not counting the first four years of Aśoka's reign.

All these considerations, I think are enough to make it clear that Buddhist chronology has been adjusted at several periods and the method of adjustments has been to include or not to include the various periods noted by me in the beginning of this paper.

According to Jain Traditions¹ (1) Mahāvīra died 15 years after

1. I have relied upon Muni Kalyāṇavijaya's paper on Jain chronology which appeared in *Nāgarī Pracārīnī Patrikā* (X, 4).

Buddha's death. Therefore, the date of Mahāvira's death will be $2066 - 15 = 2051$ B. C. This is the correct date of Mahāvira's nirvāṇa; but I must say that all the confusion which I have taken as likely in the case of the date of Buddha's death, is also likely in the case of the date of Mahāvira's death. Therefore, I shall first give a table of all such possible dates and then discuss one or two specific cases:—

B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
2051	2051	2051	2051	2051	2051	2051	2051
350	300	120	650	470	420	770	653
1701	1751	1931	1401	1581	1631	1281	1398
653	653	653	653	653	653	653	100
1048	1098	1278	748	928	978	628	1298
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
948	998	1178	648	828	878	528	
						300	

228 B. C.

According to Jain Traditions Chandragupta Maurya lived 155 years after Mahāvira's death. Now according to me, Chandragupta Maurya's date is 1550 B. C. and the date of Mahāvira's death is 2051 B. C. Adding 155 to 1550 B. C. we get 1705 B. C. and adding 350 of the First Kingless Period, we get $1705 + 350 = 2055$ B. C. as the date of Mahāvira's death. The difference of 4 years is caused by the first 4 years of Aśoka's reign. This thus confirms that upto Aśoka's days, 350 years of the First Kingless Period were omitted from the calculations, and that both 218 years after Buddha's death as the date of Aśoka and 155 years after Mahāvira's death as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession are based upon the same method of calculation. Difference between 218 and 155 is of 63 years and taking out 15 years of the difference between the dates of the deaths of Buddha and Mahāvira, we get $63 - 15 = 48$ years as the difference between Chandragupta's accession and Aśoka's accession. And we have 24 years for Chandragupta's reign, 28 for Bindusāra's reign i. e. 52 years in all. But 28 years

of Bindusāra's reign, include 4 years of uncrowned period of Aśoka. Thus this calculation is quite in conformity with other calculations.

Jain Tradition is almost unanimous in saying that Saka era came 605 years after Mahāvira's death. Therefore Mahāvira's death will be in $605 - 78 = 528$ B. C. And this date is arrived at by deducting $770 + 753 = 1523$ from 2051 ($2051 - 1523 = 528$ B. C.

I think that these calculations taken from Puranic Buddhist and Jain traditions (and to which many more probably can be added) prove that our chronology has been adjusted at different periods and that the usual method of adjusting the chronology was by selecting the lowest date out of the various dates prevalent. The cause of the prevalence of these various dates is this that a school of our chronologists used to omit all the kingless periods. It has been also caused by the difference in the date of Mba war, i. e. the difference of 653 or 753 years.

II

I shall, now consider the very complicated question of Jain Chronology, which also, shows the fourth century B. C. to be the time for the Guptas. Jain works have preserved a type of chronology, from which the date of Mahāvira's death is usually reconstructed. I shall, here, consider all the various details and complications of Jain Chronology, which have bearing on our subject. For the sake of convenience, I shall start from the following. In a Jain work called *Titthogoli Pannaya*, the following verses occur:

जं रथणि सिद्धिं गओ अरहा तित्थं करो महावीरो ।
 तं रथणिमवन्तीए अभिसित्तो पालओ राया ॥ ६२०
 पालगरणो सओ पुण पणसयं वियाणि वंदाणम् ।
 सुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं पणतीसा पूसमित्ताणम् ॥ ६२१
 बलमित्त भानुमित्ता सओ चत्ताय होति महसेणो ।
 गद्धन सयमेण पडिबओ तो सगा राया ॥ ६२२
 पंच मासा पंच य बासा छवेव होति वाससया ।
 परिनिब्बुअस्सरिहतो तो उप्पन्ना सगे राया ॥ ६२३

This means that Pālaka was crowned in Ujjain on the day on which Mahāvira passed away. Then this passage gives 60 years to Pālaka, 150 to Nandas, 160 to Mauryas, 35 to Puṣyamitra, 60

to Balamitra-Bhānumitra, 40 to Nahasena and 100 to Gaddabha. Then it is said that 605 years after Mahāvira's death Saka king came to the throne.

To one who is familiar with Puranic Chronology, there are several points striking in the above passage. Pālaka, of course, is the son of Pradyota, but he is, here, given a rule of 60 years.¹ Nandas and Mauryas are also known to the Purāṇas, though the number of years given to them, here, considerably, differs from that of the Purāṇas. Puṣyamitra is the first Śuṅga king and he is given 34 years. So far these names are familiar to us. But then follow Balamitra - Bhānumitra, Nahasena and Gaddabha. Who are these? The name Gardabhilla appears in the Purāṇas as a dynastic name, but the other two names are altogether unknown to the Purāṇas. In fact, these three names are peculiar to Jain chronology. Who were they and what is their exact place in Indian chronology? In order to answer this question, I shall have to enter into a necessary digression.

In Jain literature, there is a story called '*The story of Kālakācārya*'. The story runs thus. A great Jain monk named Kālakācārya was once living at Ujjain with his sister Sarasvatī, (who also was a nun). At that time, a Gardabhilla king, who is named as Darpaṇa, was ruling there. This king captured Sarasvatī and confined her to his palace, and in spite of many persuasions on the part of Kālaka and others, did not liberate her. Thereupon Kālaka took a vow to retaliate. He first went to a king named Balamitra-Bhānumitra (the texts give this double name as of one king) who was the king of Lāṭa with his capital at Broach and who was Kālaka's nephew (sister's son). Kālaka approached his nephew for help against the Gardabhilla king, but the nephew dared not defy the Gardabhilla openly as he was a very powerful king.² So Kālakācārya, it is said, went to Pārisakula.³ There were 96 chiefs called

1. I put Mahāvira's death in 2051 B. C. Therefore according to this passage Nandas will start in $2051 - 60 = 1991$ B. C. and I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. Again see this. Out of the 4 or 5 kings of the Pradyota dynasty given in the Purāṇas, only one Pālaka is given here. May it not be that other names are omitted because Pālaka had favoured Jainism and others had not? Mṛcchakaṭika treats Pālaka as a heretic king.

2. But it is not unlikely if the uncle and nephew together hatched out the plan of bringing the Sakas: and the nephew must have openly sided with these Sakas when they actually came.

3. Some texts give the name as 'hindugadesa.' For these details see Kalyāṇavijaya's article in Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā, X.

'sāhis' in the country or district to which Kālaka went. Kālaka lived at the court of the chief of these Sāhis, and by his astrological and medical knowledge pleased this chief Sāhi. He lived for two years at his court. There, one day, the overlord of that country for some reason, sent a dagger to these Sāhis and asked them to cut off their own heads with it. Therefore, it is said, Kālaka persuaded these Sāhis to leave their country and come with him to India. It is said that with these Sāhis and their armies, Kālaka first came to the Hindugadeśa (most probably upper Sind) and thence, via the Indus, came down to lower Sind. He, then, took these Sāhis by boats to Surāṣṭra (Kathiawad). It is said that the whole of Surāṣṭra was divided amongst these 96 sāhis and the Sāhi at whose court Kālaka had lived, was made the overlord of the whole of Surāṣṭra. Then, with the help of Balamitra-Bhānumitra, they invaded Ujjain, defeated the Gardabhilla king, liberated Sarasvati and put the chief of Sāhi on the throne of Ujjain.

We thus find the name of Balamitra-Bhānumitra in this story and his name is coupled with Kālakācārya and the Gardabhilla king. I must also point out that Jain literature unanimously calls these Sāhis to have been Sakas. Jain literature loudly proclaims that Kālaka had brought Sakas to India. The question is who were these Sakas and when did they come to India. On a proper answer of this question, depends the correct solution of the Jain chronology I shall, therefore, enter into the details of the question. In fact, the scholars, at first, did not take seriously to this question. But of late, some scholars have expressed it as their opinion that these Sakas are the same as the western Kṣatrapas; and I subscribe to that view. But, then the question is who were these Western Kṣatrapas originally and when did they come to India. Most of the scholars believe that the era used by these Kṣatrapas in their coins and inscriptions, is the era of 78 A. D. Jayswal and others take the initial point of this era to be 123 B.C. I shall, therefore, examine the question of the identity and times of these Kṣatrapas.

At first, the scholars took these Kṣatrapas to be the Satraps of the Kushan king Kanīṣka and others. Jayswal and others, now take them to have been the Satraps of the Persian king Mithradites II. In fact, the Kṣatrapas have a definite place in Indian chronology. Nahapāna one of the earliest of these Kṣatrapas, was defeated by the Āndhra king Gautamiṣtra Sātakarṇi. Therefore his relative position is before the Guptas and almost at the end of the

Āndhras, as Gautamīputra is 23rd out of 30 or 32 Āndhra kings. Now the modern scholars put this Gautamīputra in c. 120 A. D., so that Nahapāna, too, has to be placed near about 120 A. D. But if I take Āndhras to have ended in c. 380 B. C., this Nahapāna must have lived much earlier. According to my chronology, Gautamīputra's acc. is to be put in c. 498 B. C. This Gautamīputra had restruck the coins of Nahapāna. Therefore Nahapāna must have lived before 498 B. C. The latest date on the coins of Nahapāna is 46. Therefore the era used by Nahapāna must have started in $498 + 46 = 544$ B. C. or somewhat earlier. I, therefore, suggest that the era used by the Kṣatrapas is the era of 553 or 551 B. C. which was current in Persia in the days of Darius the great, that Kālaka had gone to Persia in the days of Darius, that it was in the days of Darius that these Kṣatrapas came to India and that they were, at first the Kṣatrapas of Darius. If so, we should show that (1) these Śakas originally came from Persian regions and that (2) they came in the days of Darius.

That they are likely to have come from Persian regions is already granted by several scholars. I shall, however, note down, here, all such points which connect them with Persia.

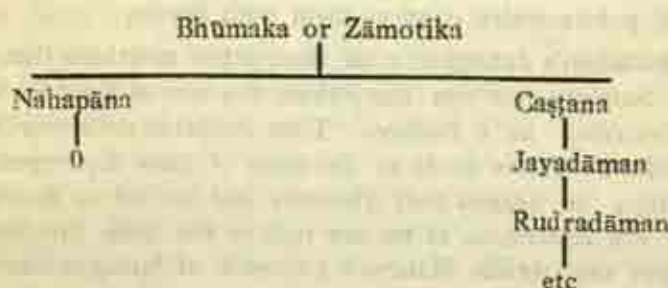
(1) Rudradāman's Junagadh rock inscription mentions that his governor of Surāṣṭra was one Suvisākha, the son of Kulaipa, who is clearly described as a Pahlava. Thus Pahlavas definitely held responsible administrative posts in the days of these Kṣatrapas. It may, of course, be argued that Persians had settled in Surāṣṭra, long before the Kṣatrapas, as we are told in the same inscription of Rudradāman that Aśoka Maurya's governor of Surāṣṭra was one Tuṣāspā and that name with its *aspa* or *aspha* ending is clearly Iranian. It may be so and it may also be that Suvisākha (= Syāvākha?) probably belonged to the same family as Tuṣāspā; but this fact that the Persians had already settled in Surāṣṭra as early as Aśoka Maurya, shows that there must have been free inter communication between Persia and India from a very early age. It shows that the Persians were very well acquainted with these western regions of India and that some Persian tribes had actually settled in Kathiawad as early as the Mauryas. Therefore Persian invasion of India in the days of Kālaka and Darius is not so unexpected as it would otherwise be.

(2) The name Nahapāna is usually taken to be a Persian name. Sten Konow (*Journal of Indian History* vol 12, 1933, p. 37 ff) has

shown how the names Bhūmaka — Ysāmotika, Caṣṭana Uṣavadāta, Dīnika the father of Uṣavadāta, Jivadāman etc are likely to be originally Iranian or Saka names.

(3) Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta calls himself in his inscriptions, a Śaka. This would show that the Kṣatrapas originally belonged to a Śaka tribe (most probably to the Saka tribe which lived to the east of Iran and which was already subdued before Darius, by Cyrus.)

(4) From the coins and inscriptions of these Kṣatrapas two families have been traced (i) Bhūmaka-Nahapāna and (ii) Zāmotika-Caṣṭana-Jayadāman-Rudradāman etc. Some scholars consider these two families as unconnected with one another, but Le'vi, Sten Konow and some other scholars have suggested that the names Bhūmaka and Zāmotika are identical and refer to one and the same person. They think that ysam or zam of Ysāmotika or Zāmotika is originally the Iranian-Scythian word meaning earth and that Bhūmaka is its Sanskritised form. According to this view the Kṣatrapa genealogy will stand as under:



I think that this view is correct. These scholars have already advanced philological arguments in support of their view. I shall use another type of argument, which too, I think, is fairly conclusive. According to the story of Kālaka, Kālakācārya brought these Sakas from Iran to Kathiawad via Sind and Cutch. After coming to Kathiawad, he divided the whole of Kathiawad amongst the 96 Sāhis and put that Sāhi at whose court he had lived in Iran as the head of these Sāhis. I think that this Sāhi who became the chief, was Bhūmaka or Zāmotika.¹ An old capital of Kathiawad

1. The era used by these Kṣatrapas might have been the dynastic era of Bhūmaka, being counted from the first year of his accession on the throne in Iran. If so, he must have died soon after coming to India.

was named Ghumli. Today this Ghumli, which is a ruined village, is considered to have been the original capital of the Jeṭhvās of Porbandar in Kathiawad. In the inscriptions which have been found from this place, this Ghumli is named as Bhūmilikā. I think that this Bhūmilikā, was the capital of Bhūmaka, apparently named after him. Philologically it is easy to connect Bhūmilikā with Bhūmaka. But how can we explain the variant Ghumli? Ordinarily Gh and Bh do not interchange and yet why do we get two spellings of this place-like Ghumli and Bhūmilikā? Here I should point out that the name Ysāmōtika or Zāmōtika is found in the inscriptions, written as Ysāmōtika as well as Ghsāmōtika. Now as suggested by Sten Konow and others Bhūmaka and Ysā (Ghsā)mōtika are the names of the same person. Therefore, I suggest that Bhūmilikā is derivable from Bhūmaka and Ghumli is derivable from Ghsāmōtika (Ghsāmōtika - Ghammoḍiya - Ghummaliya - Ghūmli). If this view of mine about the founding of Ghumli - Bhūmilikā by Ghsāmōtika - Bhūmaka be correct,¹ then it follows that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were brothers and it was this Bhūmaka at whose court Kālaka had lived in Iran.

(5) The names Rudradāman, Jaysādāman etc have dāman-ending. Sten Konow has shown that this dāman is the same as Iranian daman (creation), dami (creator). I shall here point out another phonetic similarity. This ending dāman is also seen as demos in names like Euthy-demos (a Bactrian name). There is a Kṣātrapa name Dāmasrī, which phonetically is the same as Demo-cles (Dāma-srī), where *s* and *k* have interchanged according to the Palatal law. Similarly, the name Dāmajdasrī can be compared with a name like Demosthecles (thus, Demo = Dama + Sthe = jda or sda + cles = srī). I take this word dāman or demos as the same as the Sanskrit word deva. Change of *v* and *m* is well-known. Demos is masculine and dāman is neuter and both of these are connected with deva. An Inscription of Uṣavadāta mentions a name like Mitradevaṇaka, which preserves devana-daman² almost intact. This name can easily be changed to Mithradāman or Mithrademos.

1. It is not impossible if some other village-names are derivable from original Persian names. Many out of the 96 Sābis must have founded cities after their names.

2. The word demon seems to be the same as this 'devan'. It is already known that deva means demon in Iranian language. It will be interesting to trace the passage of this word demon to European countries.

Therefore, the names like Dāmaśri are mere Sanskritised transliterations of the original Iranian-Scythian names. This also connects these Kṣatrapas with Iran.

(6) The ending *rāta* found in Kṣaharāta, the family name of Nahapāna has been compared with Iranian *rāda* (caretaker). Though Sten Konow takes Kṣaharāta as a title of an officer, I think it is a proper name. The names with *rāta*-ending are not unknown to us. Bhiṣma's name is given as Devarātā. The Bijayagadha Inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana mentions names like Vyāghrarāta and Yasorāta, which clearly shows that personal names ending in *rāta* were known in India. But as *rāta* has no particular sense in Sanskrit, such names have to be connected with some Iranian dialect.¹

(7) There is a noteworthy point about the coins of these Kṣatrapas. It is found that on the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, both Nāgarī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts are used, but on the coins of subsequent Kṣatrapas only Nāgarī is used, Kharoṣṭhī has altogether disappeared. Now Kharoṣṭhī was regularly used in countries to the North-west of India. If these Kṣatrapas originally came from Iran (i. e. North-eastern Iran) they would be using Kharoṣṭhī there. After coming to India, the first two Kṣatrapas used Kharoṣṭhī along with Nāgarī, but the later Kṣatrapas stopped using Kharoṣṭhī altogether. Thus the fact that the first two Kṣatrapas have Kharoṣṭhī on their coins, shows that they originally came from those regions where Kharoṣṭhī was current.

All these considerations show that these Western Kṣatrapas were originally Iranian-Scythians.

Now, let us see if these S'aka Kṣatrapas originally migrated to India in the days of Darius or not.

(1) The Greek historian Herodotus, who was a contemporary of Darius and who had lived at his court, writes in his history:²

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into

1. The ending *rāta* is, now, current amongst Abhiras of Cutch and Kathiawad. The ending *dāman* is found in names like Sṛidāman, the famous Abhira friend of Kṛṣṇa. Even Parikṣit was called Viṣṇurāta.

2. *Ancient India as described by Herodotus and others* by MacCrindle, 1901, p. 45.

sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Skylax of Caryanda (a fellow countryman of Herodotus). They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyia, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I, before, mentioned, to sail round Libya. *After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea.*"

On this the writer in *Cambridge History of India* (I, p. 336) writes: "From the statement of Herodotus (IV, 44) it would appear that this achievement (Skylax' exploration of the Indus and the Arabian sea) was accomplished prior to the Indian conquest (of Darius) for he says that 'after they had sailed around, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of this sea [i. e. the Indian Ocean];' but it seems much more likely that Darius must previously have won by force of arms a firm hold over the territory traversed from the headwaters of the Indus to the ocean, in order to have been able to carry out such an expedition."

I fully agree with the last suggestion made above. This, therefore, means that Darius was already in possession of the Indian country upto the mouth of Indus i. e. of the whole of Sind. Then he sent Skylax for exploring the Indian ocean and then after Skylax had returned, he subdued the Indians. The whole of Sind was already under Darius, and I suggest that the Indian regions, which he conquered after this, must have been the regions of Cutch and Kathiawad. That Darius had not gone to the east of Sind is clear from the statement of Herododus that to the east was desert (i. e. Rajputana desert). Therefore, the Indian regions which Darius conquered, after he was in possession of the whole of Sind, should be to the south of Sind i. e. Cutch and Kathiawad; and these were the countries which came into the possession of the S'akas (i. e. Iranian S'akas who were subservient to Darius) who were brought by Kālaka.

My idea is this. Kālakācārya was living in the Saka region to the east of Iran, from where the 96 Sāhis came with him to India. Kālaka had incited them to go to India; and when Darius was displeased with them, they agreed to go to India. But they were subservient to Darius, and if they agreed to go to India as the

Kṣatrapas of Darius, the latter might have even helped them. If so, the purpose of the exploration by Skylax, must have been to afford a route of retreat (in case of a possible defeat to these invaders.) In that case, the Indus expedition of Skylax might be taken as the direct result of Kālaka's visit to Iran. After the sea-route was thus made safe by Darius, these Sakas, along with Kālaka went to Cutch and Kathiawad and conquered these lands. In this case, since Bhūmaka, the chief of them, was already subservient to Darius, the first one or two generations (say upto Caṣṭana, or Jayadāman) of these Sakas must have ruled in India as the Kṣatrapas of Darius.

Any way, the above passage of Herodotus does suggest that Indian regions to the south of the mouth of Indus were subject to Darius, and therefore these Sakas might have been his Kṣatrapas.

(2) Again Herodotus writes: (*Cambridge History of India*, I, p 335): 'The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people that we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest — [the sum of] three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.' *The Cambridge History* writes, "This immense tribute was equivalent to over a million pounds sterling and the levy formed about one-third of the total amount imposed upon Asiatic provinces." Now if the Indian Satrapy of Darius included the eastern Punjab and Sind only as the modern historians believe, is it likely that such a huge sum could be paid to him as a tribute? Vincent Smith, in order to escape from this difficulty believes with others that 'owing to the changes in the course of the rivers since ancient times, vast tracts in Sind and the Punjab, now desolate, were, then rich and prosperous'. But there is no need for such a desperate supposition. According to Herodotus, the Indian Satrapy was the greatest both in population and in tribute. If the Indian Satrapy paid a tribute which was one-third of the total tribute of the Asiatic Satrapies, the Indian Satrapy should have roughly an area which would be about one-third of the total area of the Asiatic Satrapies. The Eastern Punjab and Sind would naturally not satisfy both the tests of area and richness of the Indian Satrapy. But if we once believe that the area ruled over by the Western Kṣatrapas formed the Indian Satrapy of Darius, we can, at once, justify the huge tribute as well as the huge population of the Indian Satrapy.

The whole question of the Indian Satrapy and Indian invasion of Darius quite fits in with the story of Kālakācārya.

(3) About the Indian regions lying outside the power of Darius, Herodotus writes thus, "they have also all the same tint of skin, which approaches that of the Euthiopean. This country is a long way from Persia towards the south; nor had king Darius any authority over them." Which is this Indian region, which was a long way from Persia towards the south and the people of which had the same skin-colour as the Euthiopeans? It cannot be Punjab or Sind, since they were already under Darius. It cannot refer to Cutch and Kathiawad, as the people of these regions are not as black as the Euthiopeans and as these countries cannot be considered very far from Persia. The rule of Nahapāna extended upto Nasik. Therefore if Nahapāna acknowledged the overlordship of Darius, the Indians outside his Indian Satrapy, would be to the south of Nasik; and this region can be described as lying a long way off to the south of Persia and the people of this region (Dravidians?) can be described to have black skin-colour like that of the Euthiopeans. This would, therefore, suggest that the suzerainty of Darius extended upto Nasik regions. This also fits in with the story of Kālaka.

(4) Naqsh-i-Rustum Inscription of Darius distinguishes the following three types of Sakas, all of whom were under him:— Sakāh Somavargāh, Sakāh Tigrakhaudāh and Sakāh Taradaryāh. So far the scholars take this third type of Sakas to be the Sakas who dwelt on the other side of Caspian sea, for which there is no ground. But I think that Sakāh Taradaryāh i. e. Sakas across the ocean, were the Sakas who came to India with Kālaka and who lived in Cutch and Kathiawad and for that reason could very appropriately be described as Sakas across the ocean i. e. Indian ocean. This, if true, conclusively proves that the Western Kṣatrapas were, at least, in the beginning, the Kṣatrapas of Darius.

Thus, to me, it seems likely that these Western Kṣatrapas were the Sakas who came to India along with Kālakācārya¹ and that

1. This explains the fact why some of the early Kṣatrapas had favoured Jainism. Jain works consider these Sakas as Jains. Uṣavadāta (see his Nasik inscription), it seems, followed Jainism. Nahapāna, too, seems to have taken to Jainism, though in the house of Caṣṭana, Rudradāman and others may not have taken to Jainism. That is why Nahapāna is mentioned as a separate king in Jain chronology. After the above considerations it will be easily conceded that Nahasena of the Jain chronology is the same as Nahapāna, particularly as he is mentioned along as Gardabhillā and Balamitra-Bhānumitra.

they came in the days of Darius who ruled from c. 526 to 486 B. C.

Therefore, Gardabhilla and Balamitra, who figure in Kālaka's story and who are mentioned in Jain chronology, must have lived in c. 520—500 B. C.

Having thus seen who Balamitra-Bhānumitra, Nahasena and Gardabhilla are and when they are to be placed, let us now see other Jain sources of chronology. One *Titthogoli Paimaya* we have already seen.

(2) A calculation is found in *Apārapurikalpa* or *Pāvapurikalpa* of *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. (p. 38-39).

तत्थ सट्ठी वरिमाणं पालराज्यं रज्जं; पणपणं सयं नंदाणं; अट्ठोत्तरं सयं मोरियवंसाणं; तीसं पुसमित्तस्स; सट्ठी बलमित्त-भानुमित्तानं; नालीसं नरवाहणस्स; तेरसं गट्ठीभिज्जस्स; चत्तारि मगस्स । तथो विकमादिच्चो ।

According to this Pālaka ruled for 60 years (after Mahāvira's death), Nandas for 155 years, Moriyas for 108 years, Pusamitta for 30 years, Balamitra-Bhānumitra for 60 years, Naravāhana for 40 years, Gardabhilla for 13 years, Saka king for 4 years. And then came king Vikramāditya.

(3) Muni Kalyanavijaya has noted (*Nāgaripracāṣṇī Sabhā Patrika* X, p. 615) that in a ms. in his possession, the following is given.

श्रीवीरनिर्वाणात् विशालायां पालक राज्यं २० वर्षाणि । एतेन सहितं सर्वमन्दराज्यं १७८ । १०८ वर्षाणि मौर्यराज्यं, वर्षं ३० पुष्यमित्राणां, बलमित्र-भानुमित्रराज्यं ६० वर्षाणि । दक्षिणाह्नराज्यं ४० । तदा ४१६ । तदा च देवपत्तने चंद्रप्रभञ्जनमुच्यते भविष्यति । अथ गट्ठीभिज्जराज्यं वर्षं ४४, तदनु वर्षं ५० शकवंशाः राजानो जीवद्वारात्ता जिनमक्ताश्च भविष्यति । श्रीवीरात् ४७०

कालंतरेण केषांवि उपाहिता सगाण तं वसं ।

होहा मालवराया नामेण विकमादिच्चो ॥ १

तो सतनवई वसा १७ पालेही विकमो रज्ज

अरिणत्तणेण सोवि हु विहए संवत्सरं निययं ॥ २

श्रीवीरनिर्वाणात् ५५० विक्रमवंशस्तदनु ३८ शक्यो वंशः । श्रीवीरात् ६०५ शक-
संवत्सरः

According to this Pālaka ruled for 20 years (after the death of Mahāvira), Nandas for 158 years, Mauryas for 108 years, Puṣyamitra for 30 years, Balamitra-Bhānumitra for 60 years, Dadhivāhana for 40 years, Gardabhilla for 44 years, Śakas for 50 years, Vikrama for 97 years, kingless period for 38 years—then in 605 M. E. started Śaka Era of 78 A. D.

(4) Merutuṅga gives the following:

Pālaka for 60 years, Nandas for 158 years, Moriyas for 108 years, Puṣyamitras for 30 years, Balamitra-Bhānumitra for 60 years, Dadhivāhana 40 years, Gardabhilla for 44 years, Sakas for 50 years, Vikrama 97 years.

I shall now tabulate the result of these four sources.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pālaka	60	60	20	60
Nandas	150	155	158	158
Mauryas	160	108	108	108
Puṣya.	35	30	30	30
Ba-Bh.	60	60	60	60
Naha. ¹	40	40	40	40
Garda.	<u>100</u>	13	44	44
	605			
Saka	(Came Saka)	<u>4</u>	10 ²	10
		470		
Vikrama	—	Came V	97	97
Blank	—	—	<u>38</u>	<u>38</u>
			605	605

Thus in these lists we find three names—Balamitra-Bhānumitra, Nahasena and Gardabhilla—who figure in the Kalaka story. But the point to be noted is this. According to that story, first ruled Gardabhilla, Balamitra-Bhānumitra was his contemporary and possibly ruled for some time after his death and Nahapāna definitely ruled after Gardabhilla's death. Therefore if these three names refer to Kalaka story, the name Gardabhilla should be put first and then the name of Nahapāna should be placed: Balamitra-Bhā-

1. The names Nahasena, Naravāhana, Dadhivāhana apparently refer to the same person i.e. to Nahapāna. Dadhi is a mistake. Nara should be Naha.

2. 50 in the text is a clear mistake for 10.

numitra will be a contemporary of both Gardabhilla and Nahapāna. And yet we find the above sources putting Gardabhilla last. But I must point out that other sources give the correct order. There are two other sources known to me, which are as under:

(5) There is a Jain work called *Trailokya Prajnapti* of Yati-vṛṣbha (6th cent A. D.). It says:

जं काले वीरजिणो निस्सेयसंपथं समावण्णो ।
 तक्काले अभिसित्ते पालय नामो अवतिमुवो ॥ १९
 पालकरज्जं सट्ठी इगसिथ पणवण्ण विजयवंसभवा ।
 चालं मुहदयवंसा तीसं वस्सा हु पुस्समित्तमि ॥ १६
 वसुमित्तअग्गिमित्ता सट्ठी गवव्वया वि सयमेकं ।
 नरवाहणो च चालं

This gives 60 years for Pālaka, 155 for Vijaya dynasty, 40 for Murudaya dynasty, 30 for Pussamitta, 60 for Vasumitta-Aggimitta, 100 for Gandhavvaya and 40 for Nahapāna.

(6) *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasenāsuri has (60th sarga).

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽग्राभिषि यते ।
 लोकेऽवतिमुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥ 487
 षष्टिःश्रवाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभू इजम् ।
 शतं च पंचपचाशद्वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥ 488
 चत्वारिंशत्सुरुदानां भूमं तल्लभस्वङ्गिम् ।
 त्रिंशत् पुष्यमित्राणां षष्टिवस्वमित्रयोः ॥ 489
 शतं रासभराजानां नरवाहनस्य ततः
 चत्वारिंशत्ततो

490

This is the same as (5). Only, here Vijaya is changed to Viṣaya, Murudaya to Murādha and Gandhavvaya to Rāshbha. If we equate Vijayas with Nandas and Murudayas with Mauryas we get the following consolidated table for all the six sources noted above.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5-6)
Pāṭaka	60	60	20	60	60
Nandas	150	155	158	158	155
Mauryas	160	108	108	108	40
Puṣya.	35	30	30	30	30
	<u>405</u>	<u>353</u>	<u>316</u>	<u>356</u>	<u>285</u>
Ba-Bh.	60	60	60	60	60
Va-Agni.	465	413	376	416	345
	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>
Naha.	505	453	416	456	} order reversed in (5,6)
Garda.	100	13	44	44	100
	<u>605</u>	<u>466</u>	<u>460</u>	<u>500</u>	<u>485</u>
Saka	—	4	10	10	10
		<u>470</u>	<u>470</u>	<u>510</u>	
Vikrama	—	—	97	97	
Blank	—	—	<u>38</u>	<u>38</u>	
			605		

Any one who studies this Jain chronology, will at once find that this chronology tries to arrive at the period that elapsed from Mahāvira's death to the coming of the Sakas. But in the above sources, we find various figures like 605, 466, 460, 500 and 485 years for this period. This confusion, I think, is due to the later Jain chronologists having adjusted the chronology at a later date, not understanding the reference to the arrival of the Sakas, correctly. In fact, we find three distinct references to the Sakas in our ancient literature.

(1) Sakas were brought by Kalakācārya. These Sakas came just at the end of the rule of the Gardabhilla king.

(2) Vikrama, the founder of the era of 56 B. C. is taken to have been the vanquisher of the Sakas. Therefore, Sakas might be taken to have come some time before Vikrama.

(3) The Era of 78 A. D. is called a Saka Era and it might be taken to have been established by a Saka king, who came from outside.

Therefore, if the chronological calculations have to be brought down to the point when the Sakas came to India, they might be brought (1) upto the end of Gardabhilla, (2) upto 56 B. C. or (3) upto 78 A. D. And this is what we find in the

above sources. (1) stops at the end of Gardabhilla, though it carries the end upto 78 A. D. (2) stops at the accession of Vikrama and thus puts the end of Gardabhilla in 60 B. C. (3) and (4) seem to have once stopped at the accession of Vikrama, but, now, come down to 78 A. D. (5) and (6) put the end of Gardabhilla in 445 M. E. i. e. $528 - 445 = 43$ B. C. But, I think, these confused calculations are due to later adjustments.

I think that, at first, these Jain calculations had stopped at the date when Sakas who were brought by Kālaka, came to India. But in later times, the historical memory of these earlier Sakas having been lost, the later chronologists tried to adjust the chronology handed down to them from the point of view of 56 B. C. or 78 A. D., misunderstanding one or the other as the date meant for the arrival of the Sakas. If so, what must have been the earlier calculation? This can be determined if we can know the date of Kālakācārya. Fortunately, Jain literature has preserved his date, though here, too, there have been confusions, as we find 3 or 4 different dates given for him. Earlier, I have taken Kālaka to have flourished in the days of Darius i. e. in about 522 B. C. Let us see how the matter stands in Jain literature.

Sthavirāvali or *Yugapradhānapattāvali* has the following gāthās (as quoted by Muni K. in Nagari Pr. Sabhā Patrikā, X. p. 655).

सिरि वीराड सुहम्मो वीसं चउच्चत्तवास जं बुस्स ।
 पभवगारस सिजं भवस्स तेषीस वासाणि ।
 पमास जसोभहे सभुहस्सट्ठे भइवाहुस ।
 चउदस च खूलभहे पणयालेवं दुं सरस ।
 अज्जमहागिरि तीसं अज्जसुहत्थीण वरिस छावाला ।
 गुणसुंदर चहसाला एवं तिसया पणत्तीसा ।
 ततो एगतालीसं निगोवक्कस्साय कालिगारिओ ।
 अट्ठत्तीसं खंडिल (संदिल) एवं चउसय चउइस य ।
 रेवइमित्ते छसत्ती अज्जमंगू अ वीस एवं तु ।
 चउसय सत्तरि चउसय तिपप्पे कालगो जाओ ।
 चउवीस अज्ज भम्मे ऐगुणयालीस भइगुत्ते अ ।
 सिरिगुत्ति पन्नर बइरे छत्तीसं एव पणचुलसी ।
 तेरस वासा सिरि अज्जरक्खए वीस पूसमित्तस्स ।
 इत्थय पणहिअ छसरासु सागसंवच्छसं पत्तो ।

These verses give two dates for Kālakācārya. Once Kālaka is definitely described as Yugapradhāna from 335 — 376 M. E. and then it is said that Kālaka was born (or flourished = Jāo) in 453 M. E. This line is a clear interpolation as will be seen from the context.

Further we have the following four gāthās in *Ratnasāñcaya* (Muni K's article, p. 649).

सिरिवीराओ गणु पणतीसहिणु तिसय (३३५) वरिसेसु ।
 पटमो कालगुरी जाओ सामज्जनामुत्ति ॥ ५५
 चउसयतिपन्न (४५३) वरिसे कालगुरुणा सरस्सरी गहिआ ।
 चउसयसत्तरि वरिसे वीराओ विक्कमो जाओ ।
 पचेव य वरिससए सिद्धसेणो दिवायरो जाओ ।
 सत्तसयवीस (७२०) अहिण कालिगुरु सक्कसंशुणिओ । ५७
 नवसयतेण उएहि (९९३) समइक्कंतेहि वट्टमाणो
 पज्जोसाबणचउत्थी कालकमूरिहि तो ठविओ ।

This puts Kālaka in 335, 453, 720 and 993 M. E. Out of these four dates, the first two are found in the *Yugapradhānapaṭṭāvali* also. From these dates, it is generally believed that there have been four different Kālakācāryas at these four different dates. Muni K takes two Kālakas flourished in 335 and 453 M. E. as distinct and doubts the existence of Kālakācāryas who are said to have flourished in 720 M. E. and 993 M. E.

Now I think that the dates 335, 453 and 720 M. E. refer to one and the same Kālakācārya, only the date 993 M. E. refers to a distinct Kālaka. As is noted by Muni K, Paṭṭāvalis put one Kālaka as Yugapradhāna from 981—993 M. E. Therefore, this Kālaka was Yugapradhāna for 12 years, whereas the earlier Kālaka of 335 M. E. is distinctly said to have been Yugapradhāna for 41 years. 981 M. E. will give 981—528=453 A. D. This Kālaka of 981 M. E. is said to have been a contemporary of king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura, while the earlier Kālaka was a contemporary of Gardabhilla and Balamitra-Bhānumitra. Therefore I take Kālaka of 981 M. E. to be distinct and put him from 453 A. D. to 465 A. D. The other three dates in my opinion refer to the same Kālaka.

Kālaka of 453 M. E. is taken as Gardabhillo cchedaka by all. There is a Gāthā in a *Paṇḍita* of *Vicārasarevī* which runs thus:

सिखीरजिणिंदाओ बरिसमा तिम्निबीस (३२०) अहिवाओ ।

कालयमुरि जाओ सको पडिबोहिओ जेण ॥

This Gārhā puts Kālaka in 320 M.E. and describes him as one who taught Sakra. Kālaka of 325 M.E. also is described as Nigoda-vyākhāta and as one who had taught Sakra. Similarly, Kālaka of 720 M.E. is described as Sakkasanthupio (Srkrasanstuta), which also would refer to the same Kālaka. Thus Kālaka of 335 (320) and 720 M.E. are identical. I think that Kālaka of 453 M.E. is also the same as above two. The reference to Kālaka teaching the Sakra may really be to his teaching the Saka king, Saka being wrongly taken as Sakra in later times. Thus I take these three dates to refer to one and the same Kālaka, only in my opinion, they are based on different calculations. I shall explain how.

I have already shown that real date of Mahāvira's death was 2051 B. C. and that this date was brought down by not counting either the three republican periods of 350, 300, 120 years or by not counting 653 or 753 years of Kali adjustment. Now taking that the date of 720 M.E. for Kālaka represents an earlier calculation made before 78 A. D. (after which date the Kali adjustment of 653 years was made) and taking that the other two dates represent calculations made after 78 A. D., let us examine these dates. I put Mahāvira's death in 2051 B. C. But if the three republican periods amounting in all to 770 years are not counted, Mahāvira's death will be placed in $2051 - 770 = 1281$ B. C. According to this date Kālaka lived in $1281 - 720 = 561$ B. C. Again if 420 years of the last two republican periods as well as 653 or 753 years of Kali adjustment are not counted, we get $2051 - (653 + 420) = 1073 = 978$ B. C. or $2051 - (753 + 420) = 1173 = 878$ B. C. as the dates of Mahāvira's death. Now taking that the date 453 M.E. for Kālaka is based on 978 B. C. as Mahāvira's death, we get $978 - 453 = 525$ B. C. as the date of Kālaka. And taking that 335 M.E. for Kālaka is based on 878 B. C. as Mahāvira's death, we get, $878 - 335 = 543$ B. C. as Kālaka's date.

Thus we get 525 B. C., 543 B. C. and 561 B. C. as the dates of Kālaka and I suggest that 561 B. C. was the date of Kālaka's birth, 543 B. C. as the date of his dīkṣā and 525 B. C. as the date of his getting śarīpada or ācāryapada. And if he was yugapradhāna for 40 years as he is said to be in the Paṭṭāvali, he must have died in $525 - 41 = 484$ B. C. at the age of 77 years. That the date 525 B. C. which

according to me is based upon 453 M. E. as the date of Kālaka is the date of his getting. ācāryapada is clearly stated by Merutuṅga in his *Vicārasreṇi*:—

अस्मिन् वर्षे गर्दभिलोच्छेदकस्य श्रीकालकाचार्यस्य मृतिपदप्रतिष्ठाभूत् । (Muni K's article p. 600)

Any way, even if Kālakas of 335 M. E. and 720 M. E. were different persons, we are concerned with Kālaka of 453 M. E., as he is unanimously taken as the uprooter of Gardabhilla. And this Kālaka became ācārya in 453 M. E., which according to me corresponds to 525 B. C.

Now our source (2) above, puts the period of Gardabhilla from 453 M. E. to 466 M. E. Therefore, Kālaka must have uprooted Gardabhilla in 466 M. E. (i. e. 512 B. C.) i. e. 13 years after he became the ācārya. Accordingly, I reconstruct the period of these 13 years thus. Sometime after 453 M. E. i. e. 525 B. C. Kālaka reached Ujjain. Then his sister was molested by Gardabhilla. Thereafter Kālaka left Ujjain and first went to Balamitra-Bhānumitra, his nephew and after that he went to Iran. He must have reached Iran in c. 515 B. C. He lived there for two years and brought the Sakas to Kathiawad in 513-12 B. C. And then in 512 B. C. he uprooted Gardabhilla and put the Saka king—either Bhūmaka or his son Nahapāna on the throne of Ujjain. He then, remained as ācārya and presumably as the religious and political adviser of the Saka kings at Ujjain upto 484 B. C. in which year he died.

Therefore, so far as Gardabhilla's period is concerned, our source (2) seems to preserve correct tradition. But it has put the period of Balamitra-Bhānumitra and Nahasena earlier than that of Gardabhilla. Why is this so? My suggestion is this. The last Gardabhilla had ruled for 13 years, but before him the Gardabhilla dynasty had lasted for 100 years i. e. altogether the dynasty lasted for 113 years. If so, originally, after Puṣyamitra, at whom the total comes to 353, 100 years of Gardabhilla dynasty must have been put and after these 100 years 13 years more of the last Gardabhilla king must have been put. And this break in the Gardabhilla dynasty must have led to confusion. Thinking that there cannot be two Gardabhilla periods, one of 100 years and another of 13 years, (2) kept the last 13 years and for the earlier 100 years it put the names of Balamitra-Bhānumitra and Nahapāna. If so, the earlier chronology must have stood thus.

Palaka	60
Nandas	155
Mauryas	108
Pusya	30
	<u>353</u>

Gardabhilla (100)

B-B (60)

Nahasena (40)

Last Gar. (13)

The rule of Ba-Bh must have been contemporaneous with the last Gardabhilla or slightly longer than his end. Nahasena i. e. Nahapāna had definitely come after the last Gardabhilla, but might have ruled contemporaneously with Ba-Bh for some years. As the total of Ba-Bh and Nahasena came to 100 years, exactly the same number as the period of the earlier Gardabhillas, it was easy to change the names. Thus this source put Ba-Bh and Nahasena in place of the earlier Gardabhillas, assigned to them 100 years (60 + 40) and gave only 13 years to Gardabhilla. Thus we can explain source (2)¹. According to this calculation Sakas came in 466 M. E.

But when at a later date they took Saka to have come in 78 A. D., they wanted 605 M. E. to be the years in which Sakas came, i. e. they wanted $605 - 466 = 139$ years more. What they did was this. They took 100 years for Gardabhillas and placed them after Nahasena. Then they omitted 13 years of the last Gardabhilla. Thus they still wanted $39 + 13 = 52$ years more. These they obtained arbitrarily by adding 52 to the period of the Mauryas. Thus they get 605 M. E. as the date of Saka-arrival. Thus we can explain the first two columns.

(3) and (4) seem to have adjusted from the point of view of 56 B. C. i. e. they took the Sakas to be those who were supposed to have been defeated by Vikrama of 56 B. C. So they wanted in all 470 years after Mahāvira's death. In (2), the total at the end of Gardabhilla had come to 466. Some one added 4 years for the Sakas and brought the total to 470. But (3) and (4) take 44 for Gardabhilla, neither 100 nor 13. They also took, for some reason 158 instead of 155 for Nandas. Thus they took $31 + 3 = 34$ years

1. It should be here remembered that according to the modern historians Darius had conquered India in c. 512 B. C. (See *History of Persia* by P. M. Sykes 1915, P. 179) which date is thus corroborated by this Jain calculation.

more than (2). They also gave 6 more to the Sakas and made up the round number $34+6=40$, which they deducted from 60 of Palaka. Therefore (4) should have 20 for Palaka and not 60, which is a clear mistake.

(5) and (6) are based on a different consideration.

Now let us look at this from another angle. Originally the date of Kalaka's getting ācāryapada must have been $2051-525=1526$ M. E. and not 453 M. E. But when M. E. itself was brought down, they brought down this date also to 453 M. E. In other words, they brought down the date of Kalaka from 1526 M. E. to 453 M. E. because the initial date of M. E. itself was proportionately brought down by them i. e. from 2057 B. C. to 978 B. C. But at a later date when they further adjusted the date of Mahāvira's death by deducting 350 years and brought it down to $978-350=528$ B. C. they should have proportionately adjusted Kalaka's date also; but they did not do so. They kept 453 M. E. as Kalaka's date or they kept 466 M. E. as the date of the arrival of Sakas. Now this 466 M. E., would be too temptingly near the date of Vikrama i. e., 56 B. C., which will be placed in 470 M. E. according to the latest adjustment in M. E. Thus they connected Sakas of Kalaka, with Vikrama and related the date of Kalaka (i. e. Gardabhilla etc.) to Vikrama. At a still later date, by a further misapprehension, they related the same dates to 78 A. D. This I think is the genesis of this Jain chronology.

But (5) and (6) sources in our Table, preserve a slightly different chronology. They agree in the order of giving the dynasties upto Bahumitra-Bhānumitra for which joint name, however (5) and (6) give the joint name of Vasumitra-Agnimitra. After this joint name they give Gardabhilla and then Naravāhana. The point to be noted is this. Whereas others stop at Gardabhilla and then talk of Saka, Vikrama and the Saka of 78 A.D., these two sources put first Gardabhilla and then Naravāhana. Then they proceed as under

(5) चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । ४९०

भद्रवाणस्य सदाज्य गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम्

एकविंशब्द^१ वर्षाणि कालविद्विरुदाहृतम् ॥ ४९१

द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता । जनहरिवंश

1. This gives 221 years for the Guptas. (6) gives 231 for the Guptas. But 94 verse of (6) which is not quoted here gives 255 years for the Guptas.

- (6) भरवाहणो च बालं ततो भत्थट्ठणा¹ जादा ॥ ९७
 भत्थट्ठणाणो कालो दोण्णि सयाइ हवति वादाला ।
 ततो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जो क्षणसयाणि एगित्तीसा ॥ ९८
 ततो कक्की जादे इदमुदे तस्स चउमुहे णामो ।
 सत्तरिवरिसा भाउ विगुणिय इग्गीस रज्जतो ॥ ९९

Trailokya Prajnapti

This gives us the following chronology:

Pālaka	60
Nandas	155
Mauryas	40
Puṣyamitra	30
Vas-Ag	60
Rāsabha	100
i. e. Gardā	
Naravāhana	40
Bhadravāna or	242
Bhacchaṭṭhapā	
Guptas	231, 221, 255
Kalki	42
	<hr/> 1,000

Now, here, immediately after Gardabhilla is put Naravāhana, who is the same as Nahasena or Nahapāna. After Nahapāna are put Bhacchaṭṭhapā, who evidently are Caṣṭanas.² And after the Caṣṭanas are put the Guptas. Thus this tradition differs from the other sources. The reason is simple. Other sources, not understanding the Sakas correctly, talk after Gardabhilla of Vikrama and Saka of 78 A. D., (5) and (6) preserve the correct order. They put Nahapāna after Gardabhilla, which as we have seen from Kālaka story, is the correct position of Nahapāna. This order preserved, here, shows that Nahapāna and other Sakas succeeded Gardabhilla and it becomes clear that they were the Sakas who were brought by Kālaka for uprooting Gardabhilla. After Nahapāna

1. This is also spelt as भच्छट्ठणा.

2. Caṣṭana is used as a dynastic term. Even Ptolemy has used the term in the dynastic sense and not as a personal name. It would mean that in his days (in 1st century A. D.) some descendent of Caṣṭana was ruling in Ujjain. I think that though Sakas were defeated by Ch II. in about 219 B. C., there is a possibility of their rule at Ujjain in c. 125 A. D.

these sources put Caṣṭanas. This shows that after Nahapāna his line stopped, but the line of his brother Caṣṭana continued. Hari-vaṇṣa names these Caṣṭanas as Bhadravāṇa, which apparently, seems to be a corrupt reading for Rudradāma or Rudravāhana, the grandson of Gaṣṭana.

These sources give, after Gardabhilla, 40 years for Nahapāna's period and 242 years for the period of Caṣṭanas. After Caṣṭanas they put the Guptas for whom a rule of 221 or 231 or 255 years is given. It should be noted that Vikrama of 56 B. C. has no place in this chronology and that is natural as according to my scheme, Vikrama came after the Guptas.

The correct historical sequence will be this. Gardabhilla was killed in c. 512 B. C. After him the western Kṣatrapas are said to have ruled for (40 years for Nahapāna+242 years for Caṣṭanas i.e.) 282 years. Therefore the Western Kṣatrapas would end in $512 - 282 = 230$ B. C. Now according to me the Gupta Era started in c. 312-10 B. C. Therefore Ch II's rule will extend from c. 242-245 B. C. to 211-209 B. C. Thus the date 230 B. C. will fall in the reign-period of Ch II. And the scholars, now, believe that the W. Kṣatrapas were crushed by Ch. II. Therefore, these sources preserve a very important chronological date for us, though the system followed has all the artificial traits of MCM. For Caṣṭanas and Guptas were contemporaries for some years, but, here, they are shown as lineal, because these sources wanted to make up 1000 years for the date of Kalki as they wanted to put him in 1000 M. E. I shall soon consider who this Kalki was, but just now, I shall talk of some incidental matters. The start of Caṣṭanas is put 242 years before the rise of the Guptas. I just explained the 282 years (40+242) of the Sakas differently. It is also possible to explain them in another manner. According to me Guptas started in c. 312-10 B. C. Now 242 from 312-310 B. C. will put the start of the Caṣṭanas in 554-552 B. C. This is the Saka era of which we have already talked of. These Jain sources take Nahapāna as a separate king. So Caṣṭanas may be taken as Sakas proper and if the start of the Saka era (of c. 552 B. C.) was misunderstood to have been with Caṣṭana rather than with Bhūmaka as I have suggested, 242 years have to be between the rise of the Caṣṭanas and the rise of the Guptas. This, as it were, says that the Guptas came 242 years after the start of the Sakas or Sakakāla. Now, here, one would be at once, reminded of Alberunis' statement that

the epoch of the Guptas fell 241 years later than Sakakāla. It only means that the statement of Alberuni was based on some such statement as we find in our sources (5) and (6). If so, it is clear that Sakakāla meant by him is not the Saka era of 78 A. D.

But it will be objected that I have put the start of the rule of Sakas in India in 512 B. C. Thereafter Nahapāna should have ruled for 242 years. That is what seems to be the case from (5) and (6) above. That is how I explained (5) and (6) earlier. But it is not correct. It is the usual artificial MCM way of putting it. We know that the last known date of Nahapāna is 46 i.e. Nahapāna had ruled upto about the 46th year of the era which these Sakas were following. Therefore his rule could not have been of 40 years. If he ruled upto 46 Saka Era, he must have died in $552 - 46 = 506$ B. C. i. e. his rule in India as a king could not have been of more than 6 or 7 years. So, 40 years given to him are artificially given. Similarly, 242 years given to Caṣṭanas may not be the correct number, though it is almost correct. But this number fits in here in two ways. 242 years from Sakakāla (552 B.C.) brings us to the start of the Guptas (310 B.C.). 242 years + 40 years of Nahapāna, counted from 512 B.C. (the start of the Sakas in India) bring us to 219-220 B.C., the date in which the Sakas are likely to have been defeated by Ch II. Another consideration also supports this. I have said that the Sakas ruled for 282 years from 512 B.C. i.e. it can also be said that the Sakas ruled for 310 (552-242) years from the start of Saka era of 552 B.C. That is they ruled upto 330 Saka era of 552 B.C. And we know that the last known date of the W. Kṣatrapas is 31X of their era. That would mean that no coins or inscriptions of these Kṣatrapas have been found for the last 10 or 12 years of their rule.

Now let us consider the position of the Guptas according to these considerations. For the Guptas we get in these sources 221, 231 and 255 years. Therefore the end of the Guptas will be put in c. $(312 - 221 =) 91$ B.C. or c. $(312 - 231 =) 81$ B.C. or in c. $312 - 255 = 57$ B.C.

Now let us consider the reference to Kalki in these sources. These sources put the end of Kalki's period in 990 or 1000 M.E. Muni K has collected some other references to Kalki's date. I shall give them here (See Muni K's article p. 621)

(1) According to *Titthogoli* Kalki was born in Pāṭaliputra in 1928 M.E. or in Saka Era 1323.

(2) According to *Kalasaptatika* 1912 M. E. is the date of Kalki's birth. This source gives three names of Kalki — 1. Kalki, 2. Rudra and 3. Caturmukha.

(3) *Dīpamālākālpa* of Jinasundarasuri gives 1914 M. E. as the date of Kalki's birth. It is said in this source that Kalki was the son of Yaśa and Yaśodā.

(4) *Dīpamālākālpa* of Upādhyāya Kṣamākalyāṇa gives 475 M. E. as the date of Vikrama and puts Kalki's birth 124 years after Vikrama.

(5) *Tiloyasāra* says that Saka king flourished in 605 M. E. and Kalki was born 394 years after that.

(6) *Dīpālikākālpa* of Jinasundara gives 2000 M. E. as the date of Kalki's death at the age of 86.

(7) One other source also gives 2000 M. E. as the date of Kalki's death.

Thus we get the following dates for Kalki.

Birth in 599, 1000, 1912, 1914, 1928 M. E.

Death in 2000 M. E. at the age of 86.

Now if we take 528 B. C. as the date of the start of M. E., as is, now, usually done we shall get 71 A. D., 472 A. D., 1384 A. D., and 1400 A. D. as the date for Kalki's birth and 1472 A. D. as the date of his death. Now the last three dates are not at all possible for Kalki, as Pāṭaliputra was non-existent in those days. Moreover sources (5) and (6) put Kalki soon after the Guptas. None of these dates comes immediately after the Guptas. I, therefore, offer another explanation.

If we take 1912, 1914 or 1928 M. E. as the date of Kalki's birth, we get, according to my date of Mahāvira's death, 2051 — 1912 = 139 B. C. or 137 B. C. or 123 B. C. as the date of Kalki's birth. (4) above gives 124 years after Vikrama as the date of his birth. I think that this Vikrama is not the Vikrama of 56 B. C., but is Vikrama Ch. II. I put Ch. II's acc. in c. 256 B. C. Accordingly Kalki's birth will be placed in c. 256 — 194 = 132 B. C. (5) above is apparently wrongly arrived at as it gives 394 years between the end of Sakas and the birth of Kalki. Our earlier sources

(5) and (6) put 221 or 231 or $255 + 42$ i. e. maximum 297 years between the end of the Sakas and the death of Kalki. This source (5) has first wrongly understood the reference to Saka as to Saka era of 78 A. D. and then, in order to make up 1000, has given 394 years. Thus it is wholly unreliable.

Thus we get the following four dates for the birth of Kalki—123, 132, 137 and 139 B. C. For his death we get one date i. e. 2000 M. E., which according to me, will be $2051 - 2000 = 51$ B. C. But we should remember that 2000 as well as 1000 are round numbers and are likely to be correct approximately.

If this interpretation of mine has any value then it means that these sources put Kalki between c. 139 B. C., and c. 51 B. C., and further that the Guptas flourished immediately before this Kalki.

Now I beg to submit that all these calculations suggest that Vikrama of 56 B. C. is taken by the Jains as Kalki.

Later (Part Four) I shall show that Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman of the Mandasor Inscription is to be put in c. 90 B. C. In that connection I shall also show, giving reasons, that Vikrama of 56 B. C. is the same as Harṣa (Vardhana) Vikramāditya of Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. I will further suggest that this Harṣa (Vardhana) Vikramāditya might have been the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana whose title, in that case, might have been Mahendrāditya. And I have shown that Kalhana's Harṣa had died in 56 B. C.

Here we find the end of the Guptas, according to one view placed in 56 B. C. One verse of *Trailokya Prajñapti* gives 255 years to the Guptas, i. e. Gupta-end will be in c. $312 - 255 = 57$ B. C. Now let us remember that Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman was, at first, in the service of the Guptas, as the expression *guptanātha* in his inscription clearly, indicates. Therefore I would call these two kings—Viṣṇuvardhana and Harṣa (vardhana)—by the name of Gupta-bhṛtya; and I suggest that it is not unlikely if from this point of view, they were considered as Guptas and thus Gupta rule was considered to have lasted upto the death of Harṣa Vikrama. That is why we find 255 years given to the Guptas, which brings their close to 56 B. C.

Again we should note that these Jain traditions as interpreted by me seem to put Kalki's birth in c. 140 B. C. and his death in c. 50 B. C. Therefore the time of Kalki tallies with the time of

Harṣa Vikrama. That is why I say that the Jains seem to have taken Harṣa Vikrama as Kalki. *Dīpamālākālpa* of Jinasundara (as quoted above) says that Kalki was born of Yaśa and Yaśodā. *Titthogoli Paimnaya*, as quoted earlier calls Kalki to have been the son of Indra. Now as I have suggested Harṣa Vikrama was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman. Most probably Yaśa of Jinasena is this Yaśodharman, and if he had the title of Mohendrāditya as I have suggested, we can explain the statement of *Titthogoli* that Kalki was the son of Indra. Thus all the considerations point to Harṣa Vikrama as having been taken by the Jains as Kalki.

But there are one or two considerations which go against this identification of Kalki and Harṣa. (1) Jain works say that Kalki's name was Rudra or Caturmukha and that he ruled at Pāṭaliputra. Harṣa is not known to have these names nor is he known to have ruled at Pāṭaliputra. (2) Again, Jains seem to consider Harṣa Vikrama of 56 B.C. as a patron of their religion, while if he was Kalki, he should have been an oppressor of the Jains. These objections are there but they can be satisfactorily explained.

We find Purāṇas talking of a Kalki as also the Jain works talking of a Kalki. Now Kalki, to the Brahmanas, was a saviour of their religion as he opposed the heterodox faiths of Buddhism and Jainism, to the followers of which he would look an oppressor. But the Kalki of the Purāṇas is not the Kalki of the Jains. We have seen how the Puranic tradition puts Kalki in the days of Viśākhayūpa. Now Viśākhayūpa came soon after Pālaka at whose accession, Mahāvira died. Therefore Puranic Kalki flourished within 50 or 60 years of the death of Mahāvira. Therefore, he cannot have been the Kalki of the Jains who put him several hundred years after the death of Mahāvira. Consider along with this one other point. According to Jain traditions, there came one Kalki every 1000 years after the death of Mahāvira. And this seems to be based on some fact. Kalki, in this context, means one who supported Brahmanism and opposed Buddhism and Jainism. Now one such Kalki—the Puranic Kalki—came immediately after Mahāvira's death. That is Kalki no. 1. Now, according to my scheme, 1000 years from Mahāvira's death will bring us to $2051 - 1000 = 1051$ B. C. The figure 1000 is a round number, therefore this date 1051 B.C. will necessarily be approximate. I have placed Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's period from 1113 B. C. to 1053 B. C. Therefore, it seems likely that Kalki of the Jains, who came about 1000 years after Mahāvira was Puṣya-

mitra Sūṅga. Muni K has tried to show in his paper that the Kalki of the Jains was Puṣyamitra Sūṅga, and it seems that he is right. Therefore Puṣyamitra Sūṅga will be Kalki no. 2. Again 1000 years after Puṣyamitra will bring us to $1053 - 1000 = 53$ B. C. Here also we should remember that 1000 is a round number, therefore Kalki no. 3 will come in about 53 B. C. Earlier we have seen 56 B. C. to have been the date of the end of Kalki's period as well as the date of Harṣa Vikrama's death. Therefore Harṣa Vikrama will be Kalki no. 3.

Thus we get traditions about three different Kalkis and it is likely that incidents and names connected with one Kalki might be ascribed to another Kalki. Thus the name Rudra or Caturmukha might have been the name of Puranic Kalki (no. 1). Puṣyamitra (no. 2.) was ruling at Pāṭaliputra. And both these might have been ascribed to Kalki no. 3. Again it is true that the Jains take Vikrama of 56 B. C. as their patron. But it is well-known that Vikrama of 56 B. C. (i. e. Harṣa Vikrama) was a keen follower and supporter of Brahmanism also. In fact, as the Jain tradition itself has preserved, it was only after Vikrama came in contact with Siddhasena Divākara that he became interested in Jainism. Before that he seems to have been apathetic to Jainism and Buddhism. And at that time the Jains might have taken him as a Kalki, and we do find that the tradition preserved in Jain *Harivaṃśa* and *Titthogoli* just stops at Vikrama of 56 B. C. i. e. at Kalki. That means that it is the earlier view about Vikrama. After his death Jains seem to have taken him as their patron. Any way, my interpretation of Jain chronology, coupled with my scheme for general Indian chronology, leads me to believe that Kalki, who has been put immediately after the Guptas by the above Jain sources, is Harṣa Vikrama.

We find two sources putting the death of Kalki (i. e. Harṣa Vikrama as I identify him) in c. 2000 M. E. i. e. according to me in c. $(2051 - 2000 =) 51$ B. C. And I place the death of Harṣa Vikrama in 56 B. C. Again we find one source putting the end of Kalki's period in 990 and another in 1000 M. E. These dates are apparently based upon 1048 B. C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death. Therefore, even according to these two views Kalki's death will be in 48 B. C. or 58 B. C. and I have put it in 56 B. C.

This is my explanation of the Jain chronology as I have found preserved in the above various sources. According to this, the

Jain chronology puts the start of Saka Era in c. 554—2 B.C., start of the Gupta Era in c. 312—10 B.C. (242 years after the Sakas), end of the main Guptas in $(312 - 221 =)$ c. 91 B.C. or in $(312 - 231) =$ c. 81 B.C. and the end of the Guptabhṛtyas (i.e. Viṣṇuvardhana and Harṣa Vikrama) in c. 56 B.C. In this way the Jain chronology fully supports my general scheme of Indian chronology.

III

In connection with this Jain chronology, which we have been considering so far, I shall like to draw the attention of scholars to some other Non-Jain sources.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, in his article on 'A new source of the Political History of Kāmarūpa' (*IHQ*, XVIII, 3, p. 231 ff) draws our attention to a Buddhist Tantric text entitled *Haragaurīsaṃvāda* (= HGS). He has translated the following account from this text (p. 234).

"The pious Yudhiṣṭhira is (the first) king in the Kali age: He will reign for 1412 years. Then will come the Nandas, who will reign for 500 years. They will be followed by the Gautamas who will reign for 400 years. After them the Mayūras will reign for 132 years. They will be followed by Pancasama (tr. Pāṇḍavas) who will reign for 105 years. Then will reign the Saka kings, possessed with all good qualities. The son of the Sāka (Sakāditya) will be king in Kali year 3179. The Saka kings will reign for 180 years. The king Vikramāditya of great spiritual perfection (Mahāsiddha) will thereafter be installed as king in the śaka year 171 (? ku Visva Bhumi). He (and his successors) will reign for 102 years. In his times the people will become Buddhist as Hari will then attain Bodhi. He will be followed by king Bhoja who will reign for 113 years. In his times a revival of Brahmanism will take place. With him the line of Kṣatriya kings will come to an end."

In the same article is also noted: "Dr. Majumdar (R C.) has in this connection discussed the contents of an incomplete manuscript of a Sanskrit text entitled *Ratāvalī* which he discovered in the collection of the Dacca University. For the earlier period, we get the following information in this Sanskrit text. 'The line of the Pāṇḍavas ended in Kali 1812. That was also the end of Kṣatriya rule in India. After that Mahāpadma Nanda and his descendents were rulers for 500 years. They were followed by Virabāhu, the Nāstika (materialist) king. He and his descendents

ruled for 400 years. After that Dhurandhara was installed as king. Ādisura became king of Bengal in this period."

"Dr. Majmudar is of opinion that a Sanskrit text like this *Rājāvali* was the source of the information given in the Bengali book (published in 1906 A. D.) of Pandit Mr̥tyuñjaya Tarkālankāra."

Then Dr. Bagchi has quoted from the book (*Rājāvali*) by Pt. M. Tarkālankāra.

"Up to the Kali year 4,267, Hindu rulers were on the throne of Delhi. Up to Kali year 1812, 28 kings from Yudhiṣṭhira to Kṣemaka were on the throne. 14 rulers of the Nanda dynasty from Viśārada to Bodhamalla ruled the country for 500 years, after them. They were followed by the Gotama dynasty of which 15 kings reigned for 400 years. The first of them was Virabāhu and the last Āditya. They were succeeded by Mayura dynasty with 9 rulers, beginning with Dhurandhara and ending with Rājapāla, who reigned for 318 years. Then commenced the rule of Sakāditya who ruled for 14 years upto the Kali year 3044. This was the end of the era of Yudhiṣṭhira."

In connection with these *vaṁśāvalis*, I wish to state that in the *Satyārthaprakāśa* of Swami Dayānanda Sarasvatī, is given a *Vaṁśāvali*. It is taken from a fortnightly called *Harīṣcandra-candrikā* or *Mohanacandrikā* (V. S. 1939, Mārgaśīrṣa, Sukla, Kṛdāṇa 19-20). This *Vaṁśāvali* gives the following dynasties.

The first dynasty starts with Yudhiṣṭhira and ends with Kṣemaka. It had 30 kings in all and it ruled for 1770 years. The second dynasty started with Viśravā and ended with Virasālasena, having 14 kings and 500 years. The third dynasty started with Viramahā and ended with Ādityaketu, having 16 kings and 445 years. The fourth dynasty started with Dhandhara and ended with Rājapāla, having 9 kings and 374 years. Then came Mahānapala who ruled for 14 years. Then came Vikramāditya of Ujjain who ruled for 93 years. Then six more dynasties are given upto Yaśa-pāla.

Now, I have to offer the following remarks about these lists. I shall first tabulate the information gathered from these four sources—viz *Haragaurīsantvāda* (HGS), Sanskrit *Rājāvali* (Sk. Rāj.), the Bengali *Rājāvali* (Ben Rāj) and *Satyārthaprakāśa* (SP).

A		B		C		D	
HGS		Sk. Rāj		Ben. Rāj		SP	
				years kings		kings	
Yudhis	1412	Pāṇḍava	1812	Y. 1812—28		Y. 1770—30	
Nandas	500	Nandas	500	N. 500—14	Visravā	500—14	
Gautama	400	Virabāhu	400	G. 400—15	Viramaha	445—16	
Mayura	132	Dhurandhara	—	M. 318—9	Dhandhara	374—9	
		<u>2,712</u>					
Pancasama	105						
Sakas	180			Saka 14—1	Mahanapala	14—1	
						<u>3,103, 70</u>	
Vikrama	102					Vikrama	93 1
Bhojas	<u>113</u>			<u>3,044—67</u>		<u>3196—71</u>	
<u>2,944</u>							

It will be seen that *Sk Raj* is incomplete and stops at the Gotamas, naming only the first king of the Mayuras. The first dynasty in all the four is the Pāṇḍava dynasty, but A gives to them 1412 years, B and C 1812 years and D 1770 years. Again C gives them 28 kings, D gives 30. The second dynasty is named as Nandas by A, B and C. D calls the first king of this dynasty by the name of Viśravā, but it is the same dynasty as the Nandas of the others, because according to C, the first king of this dynasty was Viśārada and the last king Bodhamalla and Visravā of D is evidently the same as Visarada of C. All the sources give 500 years to this dynasty while both C and D give 14 kings to it. The third dynasty is called Gotama by A and C. Viramaha of D is the same as Virabahu of B and C and the last king is Aditya according to C and D. Thus all the sources speak of the same dynasties. A, B and C give 400 years to this dynasty. C gives 15 kings, while D gives 445 years and 16 kings. The fourth dynasty is called Mayuras by A and C. B, C and D give the name of the first king as Dhurandhara (Dhandhara of D being a corruption), while both C and D call the last king by the name of Rājapala. Thus here also all the four speak of the same dynasty. B gives no period for this dynasty. A gives 132 years, C gives 318 years and 9 kings and D gives 374 kings and 9 kings. So far these sources more or less tally with one another. Then A gives a dynasty of Pañcasama with 105 years. C also gives Saka but with only 14 years. D gives Mahanapala

with 14 years. Then C stops. Then A gives Vikrama with 102 years and D also gives Vikrama but with 93 years. Then A gives Bhojas with 113 years. D proceeds on other lines.

Now let us examine these. The first thing to be noted is that as the Jain dynastic lists follow the post-Mahāvira dynasties that ruled at Ujjain, so these sources follow the post-Mbh dynasties that ruled at Indraprastha or Delhi. Then we find that like the Puranic lists, these sources start with post-Mbh dynasties and the first dynasty taken up by them is the Aila dynasty of Yudhiṣṭhira, but the Purāṇas start with Parikṣit while these lists start with Yudhiṣṭhira. Like the Puranic lists, these sources also bring this dynasty down to Kṣemaka, but the Purāṇas make Kṣemaka 30th from Parikṣit while these make him 28th or 30th from Yudhiṣṭhira. The Puranic lists give 1150, 1200 or 1500 years upto Nandas, while these lists give 1412, 1812 or 1770 years upto the Nandas. Then again the years given for the Nandas and Mayūras (Mauryas) given in these differ largely from those given in the Purāṇas. The number of kings for the Mauryas is given nine and that tallies with the Purāṇas. But the number 14 for the Nandas does not. Again these sources put Gautamas between Nandas and Mauryas, while the Purāṇas know of no Gautamas. The Jain sources also put the Mauryas immediately after the Nandas. But these discrepancies can be explained on the supposition that these sources are following the local and not Imperial dynasties.

Now let us examine these lists separately. B is frankly incomplete, but otherwise the same as C. C comes to 3044 Kali Era (K. E.) i.e. to 56 B.C. i.e. to Vikrama and stops there. Just before 56 B.C. according to C ruled the Saka ruler for 14 years. Therefore, according to C, 56 B.C. will not be the year of the death of Vikrama as we find to be the case in *Rājatarāṅgi* and in Jain sources, but of his accession. Śakas are put by C, immediately after the Mauryas. D seems to differ from C in certain details but in general computation seems to have been the same as C as will be clear from the following consideration. Its total upto Mahānapāla is 3163 years. But if we deduct 45 years from the 3rd dynasty (i.e. from the Gautamas, as all the other sources give 400 years for them, only D giving 445 years) and count upto the end of the fourth dynasty of the Mauryas, we get the total 3,044 years. However Mahānapāla of D with his 14 years' rule can equate with the Saka king of C with his rule of 14 years. The

difference, then, will be that 3,044 years will be over just before the Sakas according to D and just after the Sakas according to C. The position in C seems to be correct. It is a list brought down upto the start of Vikrama Era of 56 B.C. and as Vikrama was known to have defeated the Sakas, the Sakas should precede him. That is so in C. Therefore in D we should deduct 45 from the 3rd dynasty and 14 from the fourth dynasty¹ and thus we can get the total of 3,044 at the end of Mahānapala, who equates with the Saka king. This shows that these lists B, C and D are made up lists for arriving at the date of 56 B.C. and Sakas are therein taken to have been Sakas who were defeated by Vikrama of 56 B.C.

But A differs from B, C and D in certain respects. Its total upto the end of the Bhojas is 2944. It gives 1,412 to the Pāṇḍavas. It gives the dynasty of Pāṇḍasama which is given by no other source. It puts Sakas after Pāṇḍasama, Vikrama after Sakas and Bhojas after Vikrama. That is it puts Vikrama's period from 2729 K.E. to 2831 K.E. i.e. from 372 B.C. to 270 B.C. But I should submit that this is a mistake. This source-HGS-comes upto Pāṇḍasama whose period it places from 2444 K.E. to 2549 K.E. Then it places Sakas (i.e. starts Sakas in 2549 K.E.) about whom it says, "Then will reign the Saka kings, possessed with all good qualities. The Sun of the Saka (Sakāditya) will be in the Kali year 3179." Now this is self-contradictory. Once it places the start of the Sakas in 2549 K.E. and then in the same breath it places their start in 3179 K.E. This contradiction has arisen. I think, due to some later writer having misunderstood the reference to the Sakas in the text. I suggest that at one time the text of HGS had stopped at the Sakas. In my opinion, the Sakas referred to in HGS and placed therein soon after Pāṇḍasama are the Western Kṣatrapas of whom the Jain sources also talk. HGS places the start of the Sakas in 2549 K.E. i.e. in $3101 - 2549 = 552$ B.C., exactly the year in which I have earlier placed the start of the Saka Era followed by the W. Kṣatrapas. Here, then, is preserved a very valuable and much-wanted datum. Here we are told in the clearest of terms that the Saka-start was in 2549 K.E. = 552 B.C. Therefore I say that the Sakas originally intended by HGS were the W. Kṣatrapas. And, as in Jain sources, so here too, later writers mistake these Sakas to have been either the Sakas defeat-

1. This fourth dynasty has been given 9 kings and therefore, according to MCM should have 360 years not 374 years.

ed by Vikrama of 56 B. C. or the Śakas of Śalivāhana Śaka of 78 A. D. The later interpolator in *HGS* has most awkwardly put in the statement that the Śaka king came in 3179 K. E. (of course mistaking him to be the Śaka of 78 A. D.), when his entire calculation stops at 2,944 K. E. The other sources C and D mistake the Śakas to have been the Śakas, who were defeated by Vikrama of 56 B. C. and therefore place them just before 3,044 K. E. But all these are later corrections made by persons who misunderstood the original reference to the Śakas.

This leads me to believe that at one time these sources as well as the Jain sources had stopped at the start of the Śakas i. e. of W. Kṣatrapas. If so, we can understand that both in C and D also the Śakas must have been then started in 2549 K. E. Instead they are now started in 3030 K. E. i. e. full 481 years later and it is to account for these 481 years plus 105 years of Pāñcasama which they do not give that they have added $481+105=586$ years to the earlier dynasties and have given 400 more to the Pāṇḍvas and the remaining 186 to the Mauryas. I, therefore, take 1412 years given in A to the Pāṇḍavas as almost correct. I have put, according to the Purāṇas, the start of Mahāpadma Nanda 1500 years after the Mbh war, here it is put 1412 years after that event. That is why I say it is almost correct. The figure for the Mauryas given in A is also almost correct, as the correct figure, according to the Purāṇas is 137. Thus out of all these four sources *HGS* seems to have preserved an earlier tradition, only some later writer has wrongly added the figures later than the Śakas. As a matter of fact even here some confusion has happened. The purpose of the interpolator was evidently to bring the calculation upto 3044 K. E. (i. e. to 56 B. C.) and it is seen brought upto 2944 K. E. Therefore, it seems to me that even this interpolated list should have 100 years more, and, I think that these 100 years were at one time added to the Śakas, whose total thus should have been 280 and not 180 as it is now found. These 100 years could not have been added to any dynasty before the Śakas, as the total of 2549 years upto their start is quite authentic as it puts their start in 552 B. C. as I have shown before. Again see this. The Jains give 40 years to Nahapāna and 242 years to the Caṣṇas i. e. in all 282 years to the Śakas, and if my above suggestion is correct, at one time even *HGS* must have given 280 years to the Śakas. If so, the end of the Śakas will be

put in $552 - 280 = 232$ B. C. which would fall according to my scheme in the reign-period of Ch. II. Thus, if we apply this correction, we can harmonise this account of HGS with the account of the Jain sources. We should, here, remember that HGS is a Buddhistic text, that these Sakas i. e. the W. Kṣatrapas were patrons of Jainism and that HGS calls these Sakas full of all good qualities. Therefore it is clear that HGS speaks of the same Sakas as the Jain sources and HGS makes it absolutely clear that the start of these Sakas (i. e. of their Era) is to be put in 552 B.C.

We come to the same conclusion from another consideration also C gives 66 king-units from the start to the rise of the Sakas. According to MCM 66 king-units means $66 \times 40 = 2,640$ years. If we put Mbh war in 3201 B. C. as I do and not in 3101 B. C., this will put the rise of the Sakas in $3201 - 2640 = 561$ B. C. And as MCM can be only approximate, this only means that the start of the Sakas is to be put after 9 years of the 67th unit have passed i. e. in $561 - 9 = 552$ B. C.

Before I leave this subject of Jain chronology, I wish to clarify one point. I have said that when these sources put Vikrama just after the Sakas they misunderstand the reference to Sakas. But there is another possibility also. We know that these Sakas i. e. the W. Kṣatrapas were finally overthrown by Ch. II Vikramāditya. Therefore, it is not unlikely if the chronologists once put Vikramāditya (= Ch. II) just after the Sakas.¹ Further I wish to point out that it is true that Ch. II had defeated the Sakas and sent them out of Ujjain. What must have happened to these Sakas? Their sway is likely to have extended over Malava, Gujarat, Saurāstra and Sind. If so, when they were defeated in Malava, they might have been localised in Saurāstra or Sind. And it is not impossible if these Sakas bided their time and when the mighty Gupta empire disintegrated, tried to obtain their lost territory. If they did try, they must have tried in the days of Viṣṇuvardhana or Harṣa Vikrama. Our tradition supports such a course of event. It may be that the Sakas actually tried in the days of Harṣa Vikrama but were unsuccessful. Then our tradition puts Sakas in 78 A. D. also. It is likely that after the death

1. We should remember that these chronologists do not designate the dynasties by their dynastic names but by the name of the first ruler of the dynasty. If Ch. I also had the title of Vikramāditya then the Vikramāditya might stand for the whole of the Gupta dynasty.

of Harṣa Vikrama the Sakas once again invaded Ujjain? *Rajatarāṅgī* says that Pratāpasiṃha the son Harṣa Vikrama had been dispossessed of his throne by his enemies and Pravarasena II of Kashmir put him back on the throne. If the enemies mentioned here be taken to be the Sakas, it will mean that the Sakas went on trying to invade Ujjain till 78 A. D., during which period they might have met with varying fortunes, sometimes occupying and sometimes vacating the throne at Ujjain. They might have been at Ujjain in 78 A. D. and a Śālivāhana might have defeated them, then. Even after this period there might have been struggle for the possession of Ujjain.¹

Having thus examined and explained these various chronological computations and having seen that there have been frequent adjustments in the chronology, I shall now try to show the various stages at which these adjustments had happened.

The Purāṇas show only one school i. e. the adjusted one upto the Mauryas, but from the Mauryas we find both the actual and the adjusted schools. It is in the days of the Mauryas, in fact of Aśoka that the first stage of adjusting seems to have occurred. In Aśoka's days there will be two views prevalent regarding the date of Buddha's death. Some would place it 218 years before Aśoka's coronation and others would place it $218 + 350 = 568$ years before Aśoka's coronation. Now we know that a Buddhist council had met in the days of Aśoka to settle all the confusion regarding their religion. Along with the rules and regulations of the sangha, they seem to have settled the chronology and put Buddha's death 218 years and not 568 years before Aśoka's coronation.

The second stage in this connection seems to have occurred in or soon after the days of Kālakācārya. Jain tradition says as I have noted earlier, that Chandragupta Maurya came to the throne 155 years after Mahāvira's death. As I have explained earlier this adjustment also omits 350 years of the first kingless period, but the number 155 is not correct, it should have been 151. This difference is created by omitting to count 4 years of Aśoka's period before coronation. And this could have happened only after Aśoka's

1. The reference to Tiastanas by Ptolemy refers to some such time when the Sakas i. e. Caṣṭanas were occupying the throne at Ujjain. Or, it may be that his intention is to describe Ujjain as the traditional capital of the Caṣṭanas.

days. It might have happened in the days of Samprati, if an adjustment was made then, otherwise in the days of Kālakācārya, when adjustments are likely to have been made in the Jain traditions. We have seen that out of the three dates of Kālakācārya, 720 M.E. seems to deduct only the 770 years of the three gaps. It does not deduct 653 or 753 which difference had arisen only after 78 A.D. Therefore this calculation must have been made before 78 A. D.

In almost all the subsequent adjustments we find either 653 or 753 years omitted. A misunderstanding about these years of Kali adjustments must have happened sometime after 78 A. D. as these adjustments are based upon a misunderstanding of the verse āsan-maghāsu etc. which is possible only after 78 A. D. I, therefore, think that it was at Kaniṣka's Buddhist council that the verse was misunderstood and the chronology was readjusted on that misunderstood basis. I put Kaniṣka's accession in c. 15 A. D. and therefore his assembly must have been convened in c. 175 A. D. This will be a hundred years after the start of the Saka Era of 78 A. D. This gives sufficient time for the misunderstanding of the verse āsan etc. There is also another reason why I say that this almost final adjustment had happened in the days of Kaniṣka. The verse āsan etc. seems to have been first misunderstood on Kashmir side and it was there that Kaniṣka's assembly had met. That is why 2448 B. C. or 2348 B. C. as the date of Mbh war seems to have been accepted on the side of Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and China as also of Burma, Assam and Ceylon, but not in India proper. For, India proper always seems to have put Mbh war in 3101 B. C. or 3201 B. C. We find 2448 or 2348 B. C. being taken as the date of Mbh war in Kashmir chronology and in Nepalese chronology. (see next chapter). That means that these dates were first fixed up on that side and Kaniṣka's assembly which met in Kashmir and at which monks from all the different parts had come, seems to have made an intentional effort at adjusting all Buddhistic traditions, as according to Hieun Tsang, the main object for which the assembly was convoked by Kaniṣka was to bring order in the most disorderly and confused traditions that were current in his days.

In his days they seem to have put Mbh war in 2448 B. C. But either in his own days or soon after him, there seem to have come in existence two schools of chronologists, one putting Mbh war in 2448 B. C. and other in 2348 B. C. Accordingly we find some

deducting 653 and others 753 from the original dates. For instance Chinese tradition which puts Buddha's death in 643 B. C. deducts 653 years while others (Burma, Nepal, Siam etc.) who put his death in 543 B. C. deduct 753 years from the original dates.

Yet another adjustment seems to have been made in or after the days of Candrāpiḍa of Kashmir, most probably in Kashmir itself. Kashmir chronology, as I have shown, has followed MCM upto the end of Durlabhaka's death and has abandoned it from Chandrāpiḍa's reign. That means that some chronological adjustments were made in his days. In his days they found that a further period of 300 years had elapsed which was taken by them as kingless (the period given to Raṇāditya in *Rāj*). Therefore, they deducted these 300 years from the various dates. As we have seen, it is due to this adjustment, that they brought down the date of Buddha's death by 300 years (from 543 B. C. to 243 B. C.) and the date of Kaṇiṣka also by 300 years (from 700 years after Buddha to 400 years after him). This seems to have been the last adjustment. After about 550 A. D. (the date of Candrāpiḍa's acc.) there is found no trace of any chronological adjustment to have been made.



CHAPTER THREE

NEPALESE CHRONOLOGY

ANCIENT dynastic genealogies of Nepal are preserved in certain *Vaṁśāvalis*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has published one *Pārvaṭiyan Vaṁśāvali* in *Indian Antiquary* Vol XIII. I have appended the *Vaṁśāvali* to this chapter. It is generally discredited and it is true that there are, in it, all the faults of the artificiality of MCM and these faults are even emphasised by a certain amount of confusion. And yet, I think, it is possible to settle some of the outstanding epochs of Nepalese chronology from this *Vaṁśāvali*.

The *Vaṁśāvali* starts with *Gopāla* Dynasty, with a particular epoch at which 88 years of that dynasty had already elapsed (*bhuktamānagata* 88 years). The epoch with which this *Vaṁśāvali* starts is, I think, the epoch of *Rāma Dāśarṭhi*. That the Nepalese chronologists, once, started their regular lines from *Rāma*, is suggested from the Inscription of *Jayadeva II* of *Harṣa* era 153. (*Gupta Inscriptions, Fleet, Intr. p. 185 ff.*) That inscription starts with *Brahmā* and then gives some stray names but from *Rāma* regular list of names starts. Therefore, I think, that this *Vaṁśāvali* also starts with *Jayagupta*, who must have been a contemporary of *Rāma Dāśarṭhi*. This is proved by the following also.

The first king of the *Kirāta* dynasty, named *Yālambara* is said to have come on the throne in *dvāparaseṣa* 12 i.e. when 12 years of the *Dvāparayuga* were yet left to go. I have already shown the various dates for the starts of *Kaliyuga*. Same will be the dates for the end of *Dvāpara*. Earliest amongst these is 3201 B. C. and latest is 2976 B. C. If we take 3201 B. C. as the date of the end of *Dvāpara*, the accession of *Yālambara* will be in $3201 + 12 = 3213$ B. C. That is, *Kirāta* dynasty had started ruling in

3213 B. C. Before the Kirāta dynasty, the Vaṅśāvali has given two other dynasties. Out of these, it has given 434 years for the first i. e. Gopāla dynasty from Jayagupta to the end. Then it has given three kings for the second i. e. the Āhir dynasty. But the regnal periods of these three kings are not given. Let us apply MCM here and take $3 \times 40 = 120$ years for these three kings. Thus we get $434 + 120 = 554$ years from Jayagupta to Yālambara's accession. I just placed Yālambara's accession in 3213 B. C. Therefore Jayagupta's accession will be in $3213 + 554 =$ C. 3767 B. C.

I shall, later, show from independent considerations based upon MCM that Rāma's period was from c. 3765 B. C. to 3725 B. C. Thus Jayagupta, who according to above calculations, came to the throne in 3767 B. C. will be a contemporary of Rāma. Thus we find that the Nepalese chronology, as represented in this Vaṅśāvali, starts with the epoch of Rāma and incidentally preserves for us a very important piece of evidence to fix the date of Rāma.

Here, I must point out that all the Puranic chronology makes a re-start with the Mbh war. But the chronology of Assam and Nepal seem to start with Rāma. In the next chapter we shall see that in the Assamese chronology, Naraka, with whom the chronology starts was a contemporary of Rāma. This fact that some countries start their chronology from the epoch of Rāma and others from the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira, I think, strongly points to the historicity of both these epochs.

Thus Jayagupta's accession will be put in c. 3767 B. C. and that of Yālambara in 3213 B. C.

Next datum that we get in this Vaṅśāvali is this. It is said that the sixth king named Humati of the Kirāta dynasty had gone to the forest along with the Pāṇḍvas. About the 7th king of this dynasty (named Jitedasti) it is said that he had assisted the Pāṇḍvas and was killed in the Mbh war. It is also said about him that Buddha had visited Nepal in his days. Now, here is some obvious confusion. Mahābhārata was over before Yālambara, the first king of this dynasty. Therefore, the 7th and the 8th kings of his dynasty could not have lived at the same time as the Pāṇḍavas. Again, Buddha cannot be the contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas, as the Vaṅśāvali seems to suggest. Therefore, there has been some confusion here. What I think is this.

At one time, the Nepalese chronologists must have noted about some two kings that one had fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas and been killed and the other had gone to the forest with them. But the place of these two kings could not have, originally, been just before Yālambara, nor 6th or 7th after him. Similarly, the Vaṁśāvali must have, originally, noted that Buddha had visited in the days of a particular king, but he could not have been the 7th king after Yālambara. But though the present Vaṁśāvali has, thus, confused the details and numbers of the kings, it has preserved an important datum for us. It says that Kirāta dynasty had ruled for 1118 years. I think it means that 1118 years of the Kirāta dynasty had elapsed upto the king in whose days Buddha came to Nepal. 1118 years from 3213 will bring us to $3213 - 1118 = 2095$ B. C. Thus Buddha came to Nepal in 2095 B. C. I have placed Buddha's death in 2066 B. C. Buddha is said to have lived for about 80 years. Therefore, he lived from c. 2146 to 2066 B. C. Thus 2095 B. C. falls within the life-period of Buddha. Thus, I think, that 1118 years from Yālambara's accession marks the period of Buddha's visit to Nepal; but the numbers of kings are certainly misplaced.

Again the Vaṁśāvali gives 29 kings for this dynasty. In the Puranic chronology, we have seen that number of kings of different dynasties at the end of Kali was 29th. Here also, this number suggests the end of Kaliyuga. All this, again, shows the use of MCM in this Vaṁśāvali.

Next, we are told about the king Sthunko that in his time king Aśoka of Pāṭaliputra had come to Nepal. Between Jitadevī and Sthunko are given six king-names. That is, six king-units are between Buddha's visit and Aśoka's visit. Now, Aśoka is said to have been crowned 218 years after Buddha's death. And 218 years, according to MCM, will require 6 king-units. But we have already seen that though the tradition puts 218 years between Buddha's death and Aśoka's coronation, in reality $218 + 350 = 568$ years had elapsed between these two incidents. Therefore, this Vaṁśāvali which has given only 6 units, has adjusted the chronology at a later date. Thus we find that these two important events are well recorded in the Nepalese chronology, though the dynasty shows all the traces of being thoroughly mishandled for the purposes of MCM.

We get our next datum in the midst of IV dynasty. Paśuprekṣādeva, the 4th king of this dynasty, we are told, had brought to Nepal settlers from India in Kali era 1234. We have seen the various beginnings of this era and we have seen that in Kashmir 2448 B. C. and 2348 B. C. are taken as the starting points of the Mbh war, and therefore, these years could be, through confusion, taken to be the starting points of K. E. also. Taking 2348 B. C. as the start of K. E., we get $2348 - 1234 = 1114$ B. C. as the date of Paśuprekṣādev's accession.

Above, we have seen that Sthunko is taken as a contemporary of Asoka. I have put Asoka's coronation in 1498 B. C. Therefore, we can take 1475 B. C. as the approximate date of Sthunko's period. Now, this Vāṇsāvali gives 18 kings between Sthunko and Paśuprekṣādeva. And 18 kings at the rate of 20 years' unit will require 360 years. Therefore Paśuprekṣādeva was removed from Sthunko by about 360 years. Placing Sthunko in c. 1475 B. C., the date of Paśuprekṣādeva will be $1475 - 360 = 1115$ B. C. and we have just placed his accession in 1114 B. C. This incidentally shows that both the units of 40 years and 20 years are found used in Nepalese chronology also, as they are found used in the Puranic and in the Kashmir chronology. In all the three places, we find the unit of 20 years employed from the Nandas. This date of Paśuprekṣādeva is supported by the following also.

I have put Puṣyamitra Śunga's accession in c. 1113 B. C. In Kashmir chronology, I have placed the reign of Gonanda III from 1082 B. C. to 1122 B. C. Now, this period of the first quarter of the 12th century B. C. had witnessed a general revival of Brahmanical religion and a general downfall of Buddhist religion throughout India. Puṣyamitra Śunga is known to have been a staunch Brahmana. Rājatarāṅgiṇī tells us clearly that Gonanda III had revived Brahmanic religion in Kashmir. And we are told, here that Paśuprekṣādeva had brought to Nepal settlers from India, which also suggests a general revival of culture. Thus the period of this king (c. 1115 B. C.) fits in eminently well in the general time-scale of chronology as is interpreted by me and proves the reliability of the dates of all these three kings. We, are here, given a definite date. We are clearly told that Paśuprekṣādeva came on the throne in K. E. 1234, only this is based on 2348 B. C. as the starting point of Kali Era.

Then we get three more dates—K. E. 1389 for the accession of Bhūmivarman, the first king of the Suryavāṃśi dynasty, K. E. 2800 for the accession of Vasantadeva, the 23rd king of the same dynasty and K. E. 3000 for the accession of Añśuvarman, the first of the Thakuri dynasty. Taking 2348 B. C. as the starting point of K. E., we get

Bhūmivarman's acc. in $2348 - 1389 = 959$ B. C.

Vasantadeva's acc. in $2800 - 2348 = 452$ A. D.

Añśuvarman's acc. in $3000 - 2348 = 652$ A. D.

Now, 959 B. C. as the date of Bhūmivarman is likely. Regarding him we are told that he was adopted by Bhāskaravarman who had conquered the whole of India. The period of Bhāskaravarman will be c. 990-960 B. C. Now it is likely if Bhāskaravarman had conquered large portions of India proper. According to my scheme of chronology, the 3rd kingless period of 120 years was from c. 1001 to B. C. to 8810 B. C. Therefore, in the days of Bhāskaravarman and Bhūmivarman India proper was without a sovereign king ruling from Pāṭaliputra. Therefore, it is likely if a Nepalese king had conquered Magadha and other portions of India proper at this period. Thus these dates of these two Nepalese kings fit in well with the contemporary political condition of India proper.

Then, it is remarked in the *Vaṃśāvali* that Shankarācārya had visited Nepal in the days of Vṛishadevavarman, the 18th king of the *Sūryavaṃśi* dynasty. Vasantadeva's accession is put in 2800 K. E. Therefore, the accession of Vṛishadevavarman, who is removed from Vasantadeva by 5 units i. e. by $(5 \times 40) = 200$ years, will be in c. 2600 K. E. Now traditional records at Sṅgeri Maṭha put Shankarācārya in 2631 K. E. Thus, this Nepalese date supports the tradition of the Maṭha.

Then Añśuvarma's accession is placed in 652 A. D. I think this was really the date of his death. There are some inscriptions of Añśuvarma found and these bear the dates from 34 to 44. These years are generally referred to Harṣa era of 606 A. D. Therefore, Añśuvarma's period will have the years 640 A. D. to 650 A. D. in it. Next we get an inscription of Jisṇugupta which has the date 48 i. e. 654 A. D. Therefore Añśuvarma must have died between 650 and 654 A. D. and we are here told that he died in 652 A. D., which date, therefore, is correct. This date of

Añśuvarmā-3000 K. E.—justifies finally my position, taken up by me while considering the Kashmir chronology, that over and above 2448 B. C., even 2348 B. C. was taken as the start of K. E.

That 652 A. D. i. e. 3000 K. E. is the date of Añśuvarmā's death and not of his accession is proved by this also. Vasantadeva's accession is put in 2800 K. E. From Vasantadeva to Añśuvarmā (both included), we have 10 kings. Ten units at the rate of 20 years' unit will require 200 years. And 200 years from the accession of Vasantadeva (i. e. 2800 K. E.) bring us to 3000 K. E., which, therefore, is the date of Añśuvarmā's death.

I cannot explain other dates given in this Vañśāvali. Most of them seem to have been based on 3101 B. C. as the starting point of K. E. If so, Nepalese chronology adopted 3101 B. C. of K. E. at a later stage. At that time they did not understand the earlier dates based upon 2348 B. C. and therefore, taking those dates also to have been based on 3101 B. C. as the start of K. E., they seem to have put remarks about Vikrama and Śālivāhana, where they occur now.

But these considerations show clearly that MCM is used even in this Vañśāvali.

The Pārvatiya Vañśāvali of Nepalese kings

by Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji

(I A, XIII, p. 411 ff.)

1. *Gopāla* Dynasty of Mātātirtha, so called after the cowherd (Gopāla) whom Nemuni installed as the first ruler of Nepal, lasted for 521 years.

Bhuktamānagata	88 years
1 Jayagupta	72
2 Paramagupta	80
3 Harshagupta	93
4 Bhimagupta	38
5 Manigupta	37
6 Vishṇugupta	42
7 Yakshagupta	72

He brought in the Āhir Dynasty from India.

II *Ahir Dynasty*

- 1 Varasinha
- 2 Jayamatisinha
- 3 Bauvanasinha

He was conquered by the eastern

III *Kirata Dynasty* (which resided at Gokarṇa and lasted for 1118 years)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1 Yalambara | (came in dvāparaśeṣa 12 i. e. when 12 years of dvāpara were left to pass). |
| 2 Pavi | |
| 3 Skandhara | |
| 4 Valamba | |
| 5 Hariti | |
| 6 Humati | (went into the forest with the Pāṇḍavas) |
| 7 Jitedasti | (assisted the Pāṇḍavas and was killed in the war. In his time Sakyasinha Buddha came to Nepal). |
| 8 Gali | |
| 9 Pushka | |
| 10 Suyarma | |
| 11 Parba | |
| 12 Thumka | |
| 13 Svananda | |
| 14 Sthunko | (in his time king Asoka of Pataliputra came to Nepal. Asoka's daughter Cāumati was married to a Ksatriya called Devapala settled in Nepal and founded Devapatana). |
| 15 Gighri | |
| 16 Nana | |
| 17 Luk | |
| 18 Thor | |
| 19 Thoko | |
| 20 Varma | |
| 21 Guja | |
| 22 Pushkara | |
| 23 Kesu | |
| 24 Sunsa | |
| 25 Summu | |
| 26 Gunana | |
| 27 Khimva | |
| 28 Pattika | (was attacked by Somavañśī Rajputs). |
| 29 Gasti | (lost his kingdom to) |

IV *Somavansi Dynasty*

- 1 Nimisha
- 2 Manaksha
- 3 Kakavarman
- 4 Pashuprekshadeva (conquered whole of India,
being childless adopted the
first ruler of the—)

V *Suryavansi Dynasty* (also called Licchavis)

- 1 Bhumivarman (crowned in Kali...1389)
- 2 Candravarman 61 years
- 3 Jayavarman 82
- 4 Varshavarman 61
- 5 Sarvavarman 78
- 6 Prithivivarman 76
- 7 Jyesthavarman 75
- 8 Harivarman 76
- 9 Kuberavarman 88
- 10 Siddhivarman 61
- 11 Haridattavarman 81
- 12 Vasudattavarman 63
- 13 Pativarman 53
- 14 Sivavridhivarman 54
- 15 Vasantavarman 61
- 16 Sivavarman 62
- 17 Rudradevavarman 66
- 18 Vrishadevavarman 61 (Sankaracarya came from the
South and destroyed Baud-
dha faith)
- 19 Sankaradeva 65
- 20 Dharmadeva 59
- 21 Manadeva 49
- 22 Mahideva 51
- 23 Vasantadeva 36 (crowned in K. Y. 2800)
- 24 Udayadevavarman 35
- 25 Manadevavarman 35
- 26 Gunakāmadevavarman 30
- 27 Sivaslevavarman 51
- 28 Narendradevavarman 42
- 29 Bhimadevavarman 30
- 30 Vishnudevavarman 42

- 31 Visvasdevavarma 52 . (gave his daughter to Ansuvarma of the Thakuri Dynasty. In his time Vikramaditya came to Nepal and established his era then).

VI I Thakuri Dynasty

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----|---|--|
| 1 Ansuvarma | 68 | . | (crowned in K. Y. 3000) |
| 2 Krtavarma | 89 | | |
| 3 Bhimarjuna | 93 | | |
| 4 Nandadeva | 25 | . | (in his reign the era of Śalivahana was introduced in Nepal) |
| 5 Viradeva | 95 | . | (crowned in K. Y. 3400) |
| 6 Candraketudeva | | | |
| 7 Narendradeva | | | |
| 8 Varadeva | | . | (crowned in K. Y. 3629. Avalokitesvara came to Nepal). |
| 9 Sankaradeva | 12 | | |
| 10 Vardhamanadeva | 13 | | |
| 11 Balideva | 13 | | |
| 12 Jayadeva | 15 | | |
| 13 Balarjunadeva | 17 | | |
| 14 Vikramadeva | 12 | | |
| 15 Gunakāmadeva | 51 | | (K. Y. 3824) |
| 16 Bhojadeva | 8 | | |
| 17 Laksmideva | 22 | | |
| 18 Jayakāmadeva | 20 | . | (being childless he was succeeded by a member of the—) |

VII Navakota Thakuri Dynasty

- 1 Bhaskaradeva
- 2 Bāmadeva
- 3 Padmadeva
- 4 Nagarjanadeva
- 5 Sankaradeva

VIII II Thakuri Dynasty of Ansuvarma

- 1 Vamadeva
 - 2 Harshadeva
 - 3 Sadashivadeva
- (K. Y. 3851)

4 Manadeva	10
5 Narasinhadeva	22
6 Nandadeva	21
7 Rudradeva	19
8 Mitradeva	21
9 Arideva	22
10 Abhayamalla	22
11 Jayadevamalla	10

IX Karnataka Dynasty

X Suryavansi Dynasty

XI III Thokuri Dynasty

CHAPTER FOUR

NARAKĀSURA EPISODE AND ASSAMESE CHRONOLOGY

THE episode of Nāraka or Narakāsura is narrated in the *Kalika Purāṇa* from the 37th to the 41st *adhyaṃya*. The episode throws considerable light on the ancient history of *Kāmarūpa* or Assam. I shall, therefore, study the whole episode here. I shall, first give a brief summary of the episode.

Viṣṇu, in his *Varāha* form, impregnated *Bhūmī* or the Earth, when she was in her monthly period (*malinī—rajasvālā*). *Bhūmī* thus conceived a child. But in spite of the full period of ten months having passed away, she was not delivered of the child, though she had terrible pangs of labour. She, being too much tormented went to *Viṣṇu*, and requested him to deliver her of the child. *Viṣṇu*, however told her that the child will take a long long time before it saw the light of the world. He said,

अष्टाविंशतिमे प्राप्ते आदिसर्गाञ्जलुयुगे ।

त्रैतायुगस्य मध्ये तु सुतं त्वं जनयिष्यसि ॥ 36th, 39 ॥

And again he said—

गर्भस्तव महाभागे त्रैतायां मध्यभागतः ।

उत्पत्स्यते हते वीरे रावणे रामसङ्गिना ॥ 36th, 50

And then he touched her body with his conch and her pangs disappeared and she moved about freely. Then, when the time came and Ravana was killed by Rāma, she delivered a son in the country of Videha.

Now, at that time, a king Janaka was ruling in Videha. He had no child. He performed a sacrifice and as a result, got two sons. He also got one daughter from the Earth, while tilling the ground. That was Sita. But when the Earth gave him the daughter she took a promise from him that he would bring up her son, when born, at least upto his 16th year. She also urged him to keep her motherhood of the son a secret. Janaka promised to that effect. So, when she delivered her son after Ravana was killed, she went to Janaka, reminded him of his promise and asked him to take care of his newly born son. Janaka, true to his word, went to the place where the child was lying. He saw him lying with his head on the skull of a human being. So,

नरस्य शीर्षे स्वशिरो निधाय स्थितवान्वतः ।¹

तस्मात्तस्य मुनिधेष्टो नरकं नाम वै व्यधात् ॥ 38th, 2.

Then the child was named Naraka and was brought up along with his other children. Bhūmi, also, taking the form of a nurse, stayed in Janaka's harem and brought up the child.

But as time passed, Naraka shone out and turned out to be more brilliant and powerful than the other sons of Janaka. And Janaka grew jealous of Naraka. Bhūmi came to know this change of feeling in the heart of Janaka and she thought of removing the child from there, even before the stipulated period was over. So, when Naraka was about to complete his 16th year, she removed him to the Ganges and there, in privacy told him how she had been her mother. But the child said that he would believe her story only if Viṣṇu himself bodily came there and assured him of his birth. So Bhūmi invoked Viṣṇu, who came and confirmed her story.

Then Viṣṇu, along with Bhūmi and Naraka, went to Prāgjyotiṣpura. At that time, a Kirāṭa king named Ghaṭaka was ruling there. Viṣṇu asked Naraka to fight out with this Ghaṭaka and in the battle that ensued, Naraka killed Ghaṭaka and gave a crushing defeat to his army. Then Viṣṇu crowned Naraka as the king of Prāgjyotiṣpura and asked him to worship goddess Kāmakhya. He also asked Naraka never to insult Brāhmaṇas. Then he married him to Māyā, the princess of the Vidarbha country. Viṣṇu, then, told him to rule there for a long time.

1. This fanciful derivation is evidently not correct: I have, further, offered a natural explanation.

त्वं तु प्रजायै त्रेतायो यत्नवान्ने भविष्यसि ।

द्वापरान्तं तु संप्राप्ते प्रजा तव भविष्यति ॥ 38th, 140

Thus Naraka started ruling over *Kāmarūpa* and he ruled for a very very long time and he ruled righteously and religiously. Then when the end of *Dvāpara* came, Naraka formed friendship with *Bāṇa* a king of *Soṇitapura*. This *Bāṇa* was a devotee of *Śiva* and was very disrespectful to *Brāhmaṇas*. Naraka, too, by his company, changed his nature and day by day, became irreligious. Once a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Vasiṣṭha* came to *Prāgjyotiṣpura* for worshipping the goddess *Kāmākhyā*, but Naraka did not respect him and did not allow him an entrance to the temple of goddess. Then *Vasiṣṭha* cursed him that he would be ruined etc.

Naraka, meanwhile, started worshipping *Śiva* and neglected *Kāmākhyā* and through the favour of *Śiva* went on harassing *Brāhmaṇas* and others. He, in his arrogance, captured 16,000 ladies and also forcibly took away the kuṇḍalas of *Aditi*, the mother of gods. Then the gods requested *Kṛṣṇa*, who was, by now, born, to punish the demon and *Kṛṣṇa*, accordingly, went to Assam, killed Naraka and delivered the 16,000 ladies and also regained the earrings of *Aditi*. Then, on the special request of *Bhūmi* to save and protect the children of Naraka, *Kṛṣṇa* put *Bhagadatta*, the *napta* of Naraka on the throne and returned to *Dvārakā*.

This, in short is the story of Naraka as narrated in the *Kalika Purāṇa*. Now, from this story the following historical incidents can easily be gathered.

(1) Naraka was either an adopted son of Janaka or was an irregular son of Janaka and a nurse, whose name might have been *Bhūmi*, and was declared to be an adopted son of Janaka.²

(2) Janaka, later, grew apprehensive of Naraka who turned out to be very brave.

(3) So, the nurse secretly removed Naraka from the country of *Videha*.

(4) Then, she and Naraka working together, in due course, gathered an army and attacked the country of *Kāmarūpa*.

2. It is, therefore, likely that *Sitā*, who also was *Bhūmi*'s daughter, was this Naraka's sister.

(5) Naraka gave a decisive defeat to Ghataka the Kirata king of the country and established himself as the king of the country.

Naraka, like Janaka, was a dynastic title. In fact, Naraka and Janaka are the same words. Janaka is jana+ka and Naraka is nara+ka; only, in the word Naraka, jana is translated by nara, both jana and nara meaning the same thing. Therefore, as Janaka was a dynastic title, Naraka, too, was a dynastic title. In fact, the word Naraka proves that the king Naraka, originally belonged to Janaka family, but had adopted the title Naraka in place of Janaka. Thus, Naraka is a dynastic title and every king in that dynasty, though bearing a distinct personal name, would still be called a Naraka.³

In fact, we have a bit of evidence preserved to show that Naraka was a dynastic title. In a book called *Haragaurisamvāda*, it is said that some 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka dynasty had ruled in Kāmarūpa. It is said:⁴

ब्रह्मनाममरतामरजहायथपञ्चिलाः ।

अमसाम्बामनुगोषा सुरेशि नरकान्वरे ॥

Here, the initial letters of 24 or 25 kings' names of the Naraka dynasty are mentioned after the fashion of the *tantric* works. Thus, there had ruled 24 to 25 kings of Naraka dynasty and each one of them, over and above, bearing a distinct personal name, also bore the dynastic name Naraka.

Now these two facts—the fact that there had been 24 or 25 kings in that dynasty and that Naraka was a dynastic title—help us in understanding why *Kālikā Purāṇa* says that Naraka ruled for one full yuga. That according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, Naraka ruled for one full yuga is clear from (1) the fact that his birth is put in the 28th *tretā* and his death is put in the end of *Dvāpara*, and (2) from the fact that he is said to have been born soon after Rāma's period and is said to have been killed by Kṛṣṇa. And we know that according to the general tradition, there had elapsed one full yuga between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

3. Later, Naraka seems to have been taken as a tribal name also. Regarding Bhagadatta, it is said in the *Mahābhārata* II, 14, 578: *muraṅca nara-kāñcaiva śṣati yo yavana-hipah*. This shows that Bhagadatta was taken as ruling over Murus and Narakas.

4. See *HO*, Sept, 1942, 231 ff.

Now, when *Kalikā Purāṇa* says that Naraka ruled for a long period of one full yuga, what is really meant is that not Naraka, but Naraka dynasty ruled for one yuga. Therefore, the 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka dynasty as given in *Haragaurīsamvāda*, ruled for one yuga. And this is quite plausible. 25 king-units, according to Manavantara-Caturyuga Method, would require (25×40) 1,000 years. And I have already shown that a yuga had 1,000 years. Therefore, what *Kalikā Purāṇa* and *Haragaurīsamvāda* mean is this that the 25 kings or king-units of the Naraka dynasty ruled from the end of Tretā to the end of Dvāpara.⁵ In other words, the first king of the Naraka dynasty ruled just after Rāma and Rāvaṇa, in the 28th caturyuga of mahātretā and the last king of the Naraka dynasty was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa, in the 28th caturyuga of mahādvāpara.

And as we understand the Naraka episode in this manner, the whole story becomes clear to us. It is not one and the same Naraka who was in the beginning a righteous king and in the end of his career, turned out to be irreligious. The description refers to the first and the last kings of the Naraka dynasty. Therefore, the final reconstruction of the Naraka episode will be like this.

(1) Naraka, an irregular son of king Janaka by a nurse named Bhūmi, defeated the then ruling king (who was a Kirāta named Ghaṭaka) of Kāmarūpa, established himself as the king of that country and founded a dynasty, which was called Naraka dynasty. The word Naraka was a mere variant of Janaka, coined in order to distinguish the new dynasty, from the old.

(2) This Naraka, the founder of the dynasty, had married Māyā, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha.

(3) This Naraka, kept up good relations with his father Janaka, as we are told in the *Kalikā Purāṇa* that after Naraka had established his kingdom in Kāmarūpa, Janaka had gone to Kāmarūpa and had passed some time there, as a friend.

(4) This Naraka followed Vedic religion. *Kalikā Purāṇa* says,

5. Thus even here we find the MCM operating. In fact, it is this key of MCM which opens up the closed doors of Narakasura's long life of one full yuga.

नरकोऽपि तदा भीमान्वेदशस्त्रार्थपारगः ।

ब्रह्मण्यो नीतिकुशलो वदान्यो दानतत्परः । 38th, 152.

कामाख्यापूजनरतो नीलकुटे महागिरौ ।

महाभोगी महार्थीमान्दीनवाध्व कञ्चुभिः ॥

सुचिरं राज्यमकरोच्छकवत्प्रदसालये । 38th, 153.

Thus he respected Vedas and Brahmanas. He made religious, and learned Brahmanas to settle in that country. It is said.

द्विजातीन्वासयामास तत्र वर्णान्सनातनान् ।

वेदाध्ययनदानानि सततं वर्तते यथा ॥ 38th, 124.

(5) Probably with the help of these Brahmanas, Naraka introduced, propagated and established devi-worship in Kāmarūpa. This propagation of devi-worship by Naraka raises the important question of the introduction of Vedic culture in Kāmarūpa. Let us understand the whole position. Naraka was the son of Janaka and as such believed in Vedas. But, then, why did he favour devi-cult? Devi-cult, so far as we know, is not Vedic and Naraka propagated it in Kāmarūpa. Why did he do so? I think that it was due to the fact that in it he followed his mother's cult. His mother seems to have been an ordinary nurse and as such must have belonged to the lower stratum of society. In that stratum of society, devi-worship is likely to have flourished. That Naraka must have, out of his antagonism with his father disowned, at least in the first instance, all relations with him is shown by (1) his translating the dynastic title from Janaka to Naraka and by (2) his adopting the matronymic Bhauma. Thus it would seem that Naraka held his mother in respect. It is, therefore, likely if he adopted goddess cult, which was prevalent in his mother's family. But we cannot positively say that his mother, because she seems to have followed devic cult, was non-Vedic. It is likely that the lower strata of the Vedic society itself, might have followed various cults and devi-cult might have been one such cult, though it did not find favour with the higher society. But we cannot be positive on the point. At any rate, Naraka when he adopted devic cult for Kāmarūpa, seems to have thoroughly revised the cult itself. Because, he did not change his own character. On the contrary, we are definitely told that he brought several learned and orthodox Brahmanas from the parent country and made them to settle down in Kāmarūpa. So, with their help, he seems to have got devī admitted in the Vedic pantheon.

That with Naraka's coming, Kāmarūpa had a definite change of culture (and that too for the better) is shown by this also. We are told that when Naraka came to Kāmarūpa, the country was ruled over by the Kirātas. These Kirātas were, naturally, non-Vedic. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, definitely declares that Naraka drove away these Kirātas to the ocean shores and then changed the culture of the country. Therefore, I think, there is nothing wrong in taking Naraka as the first Vedic king of Kāmarūpa.

(6) This first Naraka ruled well and long and consolidated his kingdom and made it prosperous.

(7) The remaining portion of Naraka episode narrates the story of the last Naraka king. In fact the whole Naraka episode is made up of two stories—one of the first Naraka and the other of the last Naraka.

(8) This last Naraka was quite different in character and outlook from the first Naraka. The dynasty had ruled for some hundreds of years till we are introduced to this last Naraka.

(9) It was this last Naraka, who was a friend of Bāna, the king of Śonitapura.⁶

(10) Under the advice of Bāna, Naraka disfavoured devī-cult and adopted Śiva worship.

(11) He became very arrogant, oppressed the people and Brāhmaṇas and even women. Due to his actions, he seems to have been called Narakāsura i. e. Naraka, the asura-like. The name Narkāsura does not prove that it was an Asura dynasty. It is worthy of note that the word Narakāsura is not used in *Kālikā Purāṇa* with reference to the first Naraka. The first Naraka is called simply Naraka, not Narakāsura, which word therefore, refers to the last Naraka king only.

6. Bāna is made the son of Bali in *Kālikā Purāṇa*. But that is evidently to make the narration fit in with the legendary parentage of Naraka, according to which he will have to be placed in Varāhavatāsa. But this Bāna, who should have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa, the 8th incarnation, cannot also be a contemporary of Vāraha, the 3rd incarnation. Therefore Bāna who was a contemporary of the last Naraka king and also of Kṛṣṇa, lived about the time of the Mbh war and therefore was quite distinct from Bāna, the son of Bali-Vairocana.

(12) Then Kṛṣṇa vanquished this Narakāsura, killed him in the battle and put Bhagadatta, the son or grandson of Narakāsura on the throne.

Thus, I think, on the whole, the Naraka episode of the *Kalikā Purāṇa*, yields plausible facts of historical significance and provides a good starting point for the history of Assam.

APPENDIX

WHO WAS ALEXANDER'S CONTEMPORARY?

—CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA OR CHANDRAGUPTA I?

Considerations, so far made, have led us to the conclusion that the contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta I and not Chandragupta Maurya. This we have got by equating 6451 or 6042 years and 153 kings as given by Megasthenes and Arrian, with the Puranic figures.

But, I shall, here, point out that there is a manner of calculation, though not satisfactory, which seems to lead us to the contemporaneity between Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya.

(1) In the earlier calculations, I have taken 48 king-names from Manu Vaivasvata to Sahadeva i. e. to Mbh level, but there are, according to Vy 94 king-names for the same period from Manu Vaivasvata to Mbh. (2) Again, we have started with Manu Vaivasvata, but we may start with Manu Svâyambhuva.

From Manu Svâyambhuva to Manu Vaivasvata, according to Br, we get 19 king-names. From Manu Vaivasvata to Brhadbala we get 94 king-names, i. e. we get $19+94=113$ king-names upto Mbh. After Mbh upto Chandragupta Maurya. There are 39 names. Therefore Chandragupta Maurya will be $113+39=152+1=153$ rd. Thus this figure given by the Greek writers seems to tally.

Again, as regards years, we have taken 2840 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Mbh. From Mbh to Chandragupta Maurya we have $1000 + 138 + 362 + 100 = 1600$ years. Thus we get $2840+1600=4440$ years. Add to this 800 years of yuga-adjustment. So we get 5240 years. And if we put $300+120=420$ years of the last two Republican periods given by Arrian to have occurred before Chandragupta Maurya, we get $5240+420=5660$ years from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta Maurya. Megasthenes gives 6451 years i.e. we get 791 years less. If we suppose that from Manu Svâyambhuva to Manu Vaivasvata had elapsed 791 years, then we can tally the

figures of the greek writers with the Puranic figures. And thus in a manner, we can show that Chandragupta Maurya and not Chandragupta I was the contemporary of Alexander.

But, I am not disposed to take these calculations as satisfactory for the following reasons.

(1) Above we have taken the start from Manu Svāyambhuva, but our Purāṇas definitely calculate from Manu Vaivasvata. The following clearly says that the calculation is from Manu Vaivasvata.

एवं राजर्षयोऽतीताः शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥ Mt, 273, 74

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्वत्मानेऽन्तरे विभो ।

एलवेस्वाकुवंशश्च सहभेदैः प्रकीर्तितौ

इस्वाकोन्तु स्युतं क्षेत्रं सुमित्रान्तं विवस्वतः ॥ 244 (Vy, Mt.)

एलं क्षेत्रं क्षेमक्रान्तं सोमवंशविदो विदुः

These verses clearly show that the present Puranic calculations start with Manu Vaivasvata and not with Manu Svāyambhuva.

(2) In the above calculation, we took 94 kings from Manu Vaivasvata to Bṛhadbala i. e. we first counted the Solar Ayodhyā kings upto Mbh age and then counted Lunar Magadha kings. This is not proper. If for post-Mbh period we follow Magadha Lunar line, for the pre-Mbh period also we should follow the Magadha Lunar line and not the Solar Ayodhya line. Again, we shall, later, see that the Solar Ayodhyā line had, at first 71 and not 94 king-names

(3) We took 791 years for the period from Manu Svāyambhuva to Manu Vaivasvata, but for this there is no basis.

(4) We took the two Republican periods of 300 and 120 years to have occurred before Chandragupta Maurya. But it is impossible to do so. The first period of 350 years we have taken to be from Mahānanda to Mahāpadma. Then ruled Mahāpadma and his descendents for 100 years. After them and before Chandragupta Maurya, we can put only one Republican period, not two. Purāṇas put Nandas just before Chandragupta Maurya. We may arbitrarily take one period of 300 years to be just before Chandragupta Maurya though there is no indication to that effect in the Purāṇas. But

there is absolutely no room left for the third period of 120 years. On the other hand, we have seen how there are clear indications for both these periods after the Mauryas and how the difference of 409 years between Megasthenes and Arrian tallies exactly with one Puranic school, for the period after Chandragupta Maurya.

(5) Again these calculations will put Mbh war in 2348 B.C. thus:—Somādhī to Nandas $1000 + 420$ years for the two periods + 328 (Chandragupta Maurya's date) = 2348 B.C. This, in one sense, looks tempting as Kalhāṇa actually puts Mbh war in 2448 B.C. and we may say that 100 years of Sandhyā will bring us to 2448 B.C. But though tempting, this is not acceptable. For, if 2448 B.C. was the correct date of Mbh war, we cannot explain why they added 653 or 753 and made 3101 B.C. as the date of Mbh war. We cannot say, like Kalhāṇa, that though Mbh war was in 2448 B.C., Kali had started—653 years earlier in 3101 B.C. Because, according to these calculations Kali will end in 328 (Chandragupta Maurya's date) + 420 (two periods) + 100 (Nandas) + 350 (first period) = 1198 B.C. and therefore Kali will start in $1198 + 1000 = 2198$ B.C. or in $1198 + 1200 = 2398$ B.C. We, therefore, cannot explain why they put Mbh war or Kali-start in 3101 B.C. On the other hand, I have been able to explain fully the genesis of 2448 B.C. as the date of Mbh war.

(6) For all these reasons and particularly for the reason which I detail below and which, in my opinion, is conclusive, I reject the above calculations which seem to make Chandragupta Maurya a contemporary of Alexander.

That the Purāṇas, as they are today, have put Chandragupta I and not Chandragupta Maurya in 329 B.C. is proved clearly from the following.

I should, here, remind the reader that in both the calculations i.e. the one which makes Chandragupta Maurya as Alexander's contemporary and the one which makes Chandragupta I as Alexander's contemporary—we have included 800 years of yuga-adjustment and then only we have been able to tally the number of years given by the Greek writers with the number of years given in the Purāṇas. This means that both Megasthenes and Arrian had come to India after the tradition which makes each yuga to have 1200 years, instead of 1000 years, was fully established. Let us, therefore, see when this change was made.

Earlier, we have found the following to have been the stages of yuga-adjustment (1) Each yuga had 1000 years. (2) Only Kali was given 1200 years, other yugas having 1000 years each. (3) Each of the four yugas was given 1200 years. (4) The proportion was changed from 1:1:1:1 to 1:2:3:4 (5) The mānava years were taken as divya.

In the days of Kalki and Sumitra, they had taken all the yugas to have 1000 years each as is clear from the fact that the Purāṇas give 25 king-names for all the dynasties of Kali yuga, that is in the days of Kalki and Sumitra they did not take Kali to have 1200 years. So that the first stage was prevailing upto the days of Kalki.

Purāṇas show that after the Mbh war, adjustments and computations were made (1) from Parikṣit to Mahānanda, in the days of Mahānanda i.e. in 1976 B. C., (2) from Parikṣit to Mahāpadma, in the days of Mahāpadma i.e. in 1636 B.C., (3) from Mahāpadma to Āndhra end i.e. in 380 B. C. Now in 1976 B. C. the first of the above five stages was current. The second stage, therefore, might have been introduced earliest in 1636 B. C. and the third stage in 380 B. C. Therefore, it was in 380 B. C. that they made each yuga to have 1200 years and four yugas to have 4800 years. And for this they had to add 800 years i.e. 20 king-names in the genealogies. Let us see how they did this.

There were before them these lines: (1) Ayodhyā line from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra. (2) Hastināpura line upto Kṣemaka. (3) Magadha line upto their own days i.e. upto 380 B. C. (4) Yādava line upto Sri Kṛṣṇa (5) Videha line. (6) Mathurā line upto Kansa. Besides these they had some other lines but they did not come upto Mbh war.

In the days of Mbh when one Manyantara was over they had made the number of the kings of all the lines at Mbh level to be 71. In Sumitra's days when Kali was over they had made the contemporary kings to be 100th. This is clear in the Purāṇas.

Now, in 380 B. C. they wanted to add 20 king-names. In the Solar Ayodhyā line which finally stopped at Sumitra, they saw that from Mbh to Sumitra there were already 30 names as they should be. So they had to add these names before Mbh, which they did and thus made Brāhmadā's number (which was originally 71st) to be 91st.

The Lunar line, in its Magadha branch was followed by themselves. Even in this line they had to add 20 names. Number of kings, in these lines at the Mbh level was 71. From Mbh to Kali-end there were 30 names, as they should be and therefore these 20 names cannot be added there. After this there was a kingless Period of 350 years and then came Mahāpadma. From Mahāpadma to their own days there were 59 to 62 king-names, as is shown below,

	<i>Bht</i>	<i>Vy-Mt.</i>
Nandas	9	9
Mauryas	12	9 or 10
Suṅgas	10	10
Kāṇvas	4	4
Āndhras	27	27
	<hr/> 62	<hr/> 59 or 60

We have earlier seen that from Puṣyamitra they changed the caturyuga unit to 20 years. This change seems to have been made from the Nandas also. From Mahāpadma to the 20th Āndhra, Purāṇas categorically say that there had elapsed 836 years and if we add to that 420 years of the two kingless periods, then 1256 years. For these 1256 years, at the rate of 20 years' unit, we shall require 62 king-names. That is why they had kept 62 names upto 380 B. C. as is seen above.

Now, I must say that from Nandas downwards Purāṇas employ both the units of 20 and 40 years. This has been made clear in the chapter on Kashmir chronology. For sub-periods, they used 20 years' unit and for longer periods 40 years' unit. Therefore, when they calculated from Mahāpadma to 380 B. C., they used 20 years' unit. Then they wanted for 1256 years 62 names. But when they calculated from Mbh to 380 B. C. they wanted for those ($3136 - 380 =$) 2756 years, at the rate of 40 years' unit, 68+1 king-names. They had 37 names upto Mahāpadma and 63 more upto 380 B. C. i. e. 100 in all. They wanted 68, so they had 32 names more.

Thus the problem before them in 380 B. C. was to add 20 names for Yuga-adjustment and to deduct 32 names as shown above i. e. on the whole they had to deduct 12 names. These they could not deduct from the names Somādhi to Śiṣunāga. Nor could they deduct these from 63 names from Mahāpadma to 380 B. C.,

as these 63 names were required according to 20 years' unit. Their only course was to go before Mbh level. And therefore they deducted 12 names there and made the number of Sahadeva from 71 to 59 or 58.

But we have seen that there are two Puranic schools—one which includes 420 years of the two periods and the other which does not. By including these 420 years we have got 1256 years as above, but if we do not include these 420 years then we get 836 years for this period. Therefore, this school will have to deduct ($420 \div 40 = 11$ i. e.) 10 or 11 king-names more. Thus this school will make the number of Sahadeva to be 48 or 49.

The present Purāṇas show that the solar Ayodhyā line has about 94 kings upto Mbh level and about 124 kings upto Kalki level. But all the Lunar lines show from 36 to 62 names upto Mbh level. We should remember that at the end of Kali, in the days of Kalki, they had kept 100 names in all the lines, solar as well as Lunar. That means that at that time, there were 71 names in all the Solar and Lunar lines upto the Mbh level. Then why do we not find these numbers today?

After the above considerations, it should be clear that when in 380 B. C. they had to add 20 names for the 800 years of yuga-adjustment, the Solar Ayodhyā line was available only upto Sumitra and so in that line they added 20 names before the Mbh level, as they could not insert these 20 names in the Post-Mbh list, because they had just 30 names which they required for the 1200 years from Mbh to Kalki. Similarly, in the Lunar lines also they should have made the number of kings at Mbh level to be 91st instead of 71st, which was the case in 1976 B. C. But they have not done so. No Purāṇa at present, shows even 71st to be the number of any Lunar king at Mbh level. If the 800 years were added before Chandragupta Maurya, we would have, to-day, found the number of kings at Mbh level in all the Lunar lines to be 91st as we find in the Solar Ayodhyā line. But the reason why the numbers of Lunar kings at Mbh level have been brought lower, even lower than 71, is that they adjusted these 800 years at a date later than that of Chandragupta Maurya.

To-day we find in the present Purāṇas, in the Ayodhyā Solar line number of Śrāyū, who was at Mbh level to be about 71, the number of Bhadbala of the same line and of the Mbh level, to

be about 94 and in the different Lunar lines the number of kings at Mbh level to vary from 36 to 62. This preserves all the three stages shown by me. In the days of Kalki, the number of kings at Mbh level should be 71 and we find Śrāya to be 71st in Br. Later on, in 380 B. C. when they had added 800 years, they changed the number of Brāḍbala only from 71 to 91 (or 94), because they wanted to come down to Sumitra and Sumitra was in direct line with Brāḍbala. And they brought the numbers of all the Lunar kings at Mbh level, from 71 to about 48 or 58 for reasons already explained above. Thus we find all the three stages still preserved in the Purāṇas.

These considerations make it clear that each yuga was given 1200 years instead of 1000 years, only in 380 B. C., and 800 years of yuga-adjustment were added only in 380 B. C. Therefore Megasthenes whose figure 6451 includes these 800 years, could not have come to India before the days of the 27th Āndhra king, whom we have placed in 380 B. C. And therefore Alexander could not have come to India in the days of Chandragupta Maurya. Thus, *so far as Puranic evidence goes*, it is clear that Magadha contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta I and not Chandragupta Maurya.

But this conclusion that Chandragupta I was the contemporary of Alexander the Great goes against all the conceptions of ancient Indian chronology, established by the modern scholars. The modern students of ancient Indian history have found the synchronism between Alexander the Great and Chandragupta Maurya to have been established on the firmest basis. The Greek writers speak of a Xandrames or a Sandrocottos to have been a king of the Eastern India in the days of Alexander. Phonetically, both Xandramas and Sandrocottos can very easily be equated with Candra or Chandragupta. Students have said that Sandrocottos or Chandragupta was none else than Chandragupta Maurya.

This synchronism thus arrived at has been finally established by some other pieces of evidence.

(1) Buddhists and Jains have been following an era of Buddha Nirvāṇa and Mahāvira Nirvāṇa respectively. According to the available traditions, scholars have found that the commencement of Buddha-Nirvāṇa Era was between 543 B. C. and 483 B. C., and that Mahāvira-Nirvāṇa Era was about 15 years later. Now both

Buddha and Mahāvira were contemporaries of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha. According to the Purāṇas, these were the fourth and the fifth kings of the Saisunāga dynasty. Saisunāga dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, had in all ten kings. After the Saisunāga dynasty came the Nanda dynasty, for which, the Purāṇas usually name ten kings. And then, according to the Purāṇas, came Chandragupta Maurya. Thus Chandragupta Maurya was 8th from Bimbisāra i. e. Buddha. Taking the date of Bimbisāra to be c. 525 B. C. and taking an average of 25 years for a ruling generation, we get c. 325 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession. Thus it was Chandragupta Maurya who was the contemporary of Alexander.

(2) In the XIII rock edict of Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, are mentioned the Hellenistic kings viz. Antiochos, Ptolemy, Antigones, Magas and Alexander. Now from Greek evidence, these kings have been found ruling during the third or fourth quarter of 3rd century B. C. Therefore the date of Aśoka Maurya should be near about 278 B. C. And as, according to the tradition the first two Maurya kings together ruled for 52 years Chandragupta Maurya's accession should be put in $275 + 58 = 333$ B. C. or in c. 325 B. C. Therefore also Chandragupta Maurya was the contemporary of Alexander.

(3) There have been some more kings bearing the names of Chandragupta, but the Chandragupta next in chronological order to Chandragupta Maurya was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. But as, according to Alberuni's clear testimony (corroborated by a mass of other evidence collected by the modern students) the start of the Gupta Era is definitely to be put in 320 A. D., there can be no question of Chandragupta I, being the contemporary of Alexander.

There are some other minor points also, which are adduced in support of this synchronism between Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander. And, yet, we have in our foregoing considerations found Chandragupta I (and not Chandragupta Maurya) as Alexander's contemporary. I shall, therefore, examine the above pieces of evidence gathered by the modern students.

PART THREE

Ch. one : Chandragupta Maurya and the Greek Evidence

Ch. Two : The Greek Evidence and the Guptas

Ch. Three : The Piyadasi Inscriptions

Ch. Four : The Gupta Era

CHAPTER ONE

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND THE GREEK EVIDENCE

THE modern students consider the Greek evidence to be very decisive in establishing the synchronism between Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya. I shall, therefore, first, quote all the passages from the Greek writers, which refer to Xandrames or Sandrocottus and then consider the whole question afresh. The Greek writers, who speak anything about Xandrames or Sandrocottus are Diodorus (1st cent. B. C.), Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. 40 A. D.), Plutarch (c. 50 A. D.), Justin (4th cent. A. D.) Arrian (2nd cent. A. D.), Strabo (1st B. C.), Appian (c. 123 A. D.) and Athenaios. I shall reproduce below the statements of these writers as they are given by Mac Crindle in his book 'The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.'

Diodorus (1st century B. C.) [Book VII, ch. XCIII; p. 281-2¹]

"He (=Alexander) had obtained from Phegus a description of the country beyond the Indus: First came a desert which it would take twelve days to traverse; beyond this was the river called the Ganges which had a width of thirty-two stadia and a greater depth than any other Indian river; beyond this again were situated the dominions of the nation of the Praisioi and the Gandaridai, whose king, Xandrames, had an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Alexander, distrusting these statements, sent for Poros and questioned him as to their accuracy. Poros assured him of the correctness of the information, but added that the king of the

1. The page numbers refer to Mac Crindle's book mentioned above.

Gandaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man, the king's father—was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned."

Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. 40 A.D.) [Book IX, ch. II; p. 221-2]

"Having therefore requested Phegus to tell him what he wanted to know, he (= Alexander) learned the following particulars: Beyond the river lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse. Next came the Ganges, the largest river in all India, the further bank of which was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in field for guarding the approaches of his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which he said ran up to the number of 3,000.

All this seemed to the king to be incredible, and he therefore asked Porus, who happened to be in audience whether the account was true. He assured Alexander in reply that, as far as the strength of the nation and kingdom was concerned, there was no exaggeration in the reports, but that the present king was not merely a man originally of no distinction but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber scarcely staying off hunger by his daily earnings but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conduct himself as the occupant of the throne."

Plutarch (c. 50 A. D.) [ch. Lxii; p. 310]

This river (i.e. the Ganges), they heard, had a breadth of two-and-thirty stadia, and a depth of 100 fathoms, while its further banks were covered all over with armed men, horses and elephants. For the kings of Gandaridai and the Praisidai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse,

200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. Nor was this any exaggeration, for, not long afterwards Androkottos, who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men..... Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."

Arrian does not mention Xandrames or Sandrokottos by name.

Justin (2nd cent. A. D.) [Book XV, ch. IV, p. 327]

"..... Seleucus Nicator waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over to India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefect to death. Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved this freedom, but after his victory he forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign bondage. He was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Alexandrian and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly, took to departure. It was this prodigy which inspired him with hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future

greatness. Seleukos having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antiogonus."

Appian (p. 404) speaking of Seleukos says, "And having crossed the Indus, he warred with Androkottos, the king of the Indians, who dwelt about that river, until he entered into an alliance and a marriage affinity with him."

Strabo (first cent. B. C., [II. 1, 9; 408] says, "Both of these men were sent to Pilimbothra, Megasthenes to Sandrokottos and Daimachos to Amitrochades, his son," and in XV, 1, 36 repeats the statement as concerns Megasthenes. In XV, i, 53 we read, "Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos, which consisted of 400,000 men, did not witness on any day thefts reported which exceeded the sum of 200 drachmai and this among a people who have no written laws, who are ignorant even of writing and regulate everything by memory." Lastly, in XV, 1, 57 we read, "Similar to this is the account of Enotokotai, of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sandrokottos, for they died by abstaining from food."

Arrian (p. 405) in his *Indika* (ch. 5) says, "But even Megasthenes as far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander, the son of Philip. for, as he says, he had interviews with Sandrokottos the greatest king of the Indians, and with Porós who was still greater than he."

[Mac Grindle notes, "A slight emendation of the reading (suggested by Sehwanbech) restores the passage to sense making Arrian say that Sandrokottos was greater even than Porós.]

Athenaios [p. 405] mentions (him Sandrokottos) in his *Deipnosophists* (ch. 18d): "Phylarchos says that among the presents which Sandrokottos, the king of the Indians, sent to Selukos were certain powerful aphrodisiacs.

From these various accounts, modern scholars have drawn the following conclusions:

(1) Xandrames and Agrammes are but two variants of one and the same name, i. e. they refer to the same person.

(2) Regarding Xandrames and Sandrokottos (i) some scholars say that both the names refer to the same person viz. Chandragupta Maurya, (ii) while others say that Xandrames refers to the Nanda king whom Chandragupta Maurya had uprooted and Sandrokottos refers to Chandragupta Maurya himself.

Let us, therefore, examine the Greek evidence collected above, dispassionately and impartially. Regarding the first question of Xandrames and Agrammes referring to the same person, it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that though phonetically the names seem to differ much, they refer to one and the same king; for the details given by Diodorus about Xandrames and those given by Curtius about Agrammes are absolutely identical. The names seem to differ in their first parts, one having Xandra and the other having Agra. Correct name, of course, seems to be Xandrames. We know that Sandrocottos of other writers is spelt Androcottos by Plutarch. Similarly Xandra may be spelt as Andra and scribal indifference may further corrupt it into Agra. At any rate, whatever be the form of the name, it is certain that both the names refer to the same person.

We shall, now, examine the other question of the identity of Xandrames and Sandrokottos.

Diodorus speaks of Xandrames only. According to him, when Alexander was in the Punjab, Xandrames was actually ruling in Eastern India. This Xandrames, according to him, had come to the throne after the old king had been murdered. Therefore, according to Diodorus, there will be two successive kings—(1) the old king, who was already killed before Alexander came to the Punjab, and (2) Xandrames, who was actually ruling when Alexander was in the Punjab. Curtius also says the same thing. Therefore, according to both these writers, first ruled the old king and then ruled Xandrames.

Other writers do not mention either the old king or Xandrames. They speak of Sandrokottos only. Now, we should remember that just as both Diodorus and Curtius are clear on the point that Xandrames was ruling when Alexander was in the Punjab (see expressions like, "—on him who now reigned"—D., and "—present king" used twice by C for Agrammes), both Plutarch and Justin are clear on the point that Sandrocottus had come on the throne after Alexander left India. Plutarch uses the words, "not

long afterwards" which clearly mean not long after Alexander left India. Justin is clearer. According to Justin, the events of Sandrocottus' life occurred in the following order. He was "prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen." This omen occurred when Alexander was in India. After this omen, Sandrocottus collected 'a band of robbers' and attacked Alexander's prefects, which could only be after Alexander left India. And after this, Sandrocottus came to the throne. Thus it is clear that Sandrocottus came to the throne after Alexander left India.

In fact Xandrames is mentioned in relation to Alexander only and Sandrocottus in relation to Seleucos only. There is no statement which makes Xandrames a contemporary of Seleucos or Sandrocottus a contemporary of Alexander. Therefore, according to the Greek writers Xandrames is distinct from Sandrocottus, the former having preceded the latter on the throne.

Thus we get references to three successive kings of Eastern India, viz. (1) The old king, (2) Xandrames and (3) Sandrocottus. And Strabo supplies one more name, that of Amitrochates, the son of Sandrocottus. Thus the secession stands thus:

The old king

|

Xandrames

|

Sandrocottus

|

Amitrochates

I shall, now put together the details of the lives of these four kings of the Eastern India, as they are found in the above accounts.

THE OLD KING

He is mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius only. His name is not mentioned by either. The following points are to be noted about him.

- (1) He was ruling before Alexander came to India.
- (2) His queen had fallen in love with a barber of comely person.
- (3) This barber had become a favourite of the old king.
- (4) The old king was treacherously murdered either by the queen (D) or by the barber (C).

XANDRAMES

He is mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius.

(1) He came to the throne after the murder of the old king. However, the two writers seem to differ in one point. According to Diodorus, when the old king was murdered 'the succession had devolved' on Xandrames, which would mean that Xandrames came to the throne immediately after the murder of the king. Curtius, on the other hand, clearly says that after murdering the old king, the barber acted as the regent and he (=the barber) actually begot Xandrames after the murder. This would mean that after the death of the old king, the barber was supreme for several years till Xandrames, who was born after the old king's death, came to age. Xandrames, according to this, must have come to throne several years after the death of the old king.

(2) But both Diodorus and Curtius are clear on the point that Xandrames was the ruling king when Alexander was in the Punjab.

(3) Xandrames was held in no respect because he was thought to be the son of a barber.

(4) This barber, his father, had won the love of the queen of the old king.

SANDROCOTTUS

He is mentioned by all the writers, except Diodorus and Curtius.

(1) He came to the throne after Alexander left India i. e. after Xandrames was dead.

(2) According to Plutarch and Justin, he had seen Alexander, when he (Sandrocottus) was young i. e. not crowned. According to Justin he had offended Alexander and was ordered to be put to death, but he fled from Alexander and thus saved himself.

(3) According to Justin, Sandrocottus had not come to the throne, evidently of Eastern India (i. e. Magadha), in natural course of succession, but had to acquire it by his own exploits. He was without a throne. He, then, gathered a band of robbers, instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government and thereafter fought with Alexander's prefect. He, then, conquered Magadha. This account means that Sandrocottus had fought with and overthrown the Greek prefects and had won himself the throne of Magadha.

(4) As he won the Greek prefects, he was considered a leader and a liberator of his people.

(5) He, then, (according to Plutarch) overran and subdued the whole of India.

(6) He had a fight with Seleucos, in which the latter was defeated and a treaty was made between the two.

(7) According to Justin, though he was the liberator of his people, he had forfeited all title to the name of a liberator by his tyranny, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom.

(8) According to Justin he was born in humble life.

(9) It was at his court that Seleucos had sent Megasthenes to Pataliputra.

AMITROCHADES

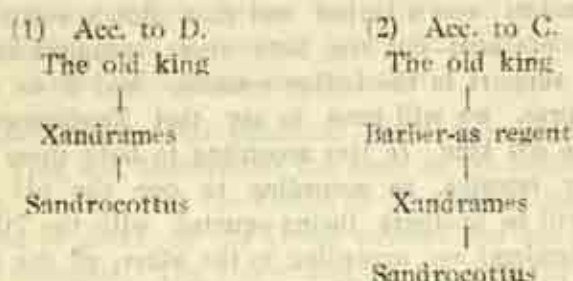
(1) He was the son of Sandrocottus.

(2) In his days Deimachos had come as an ambassador.

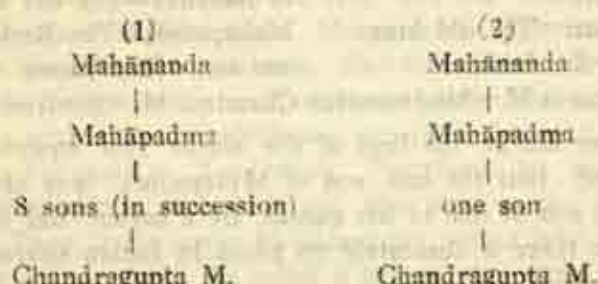
Having kept in mind these details about these kings as given by the Greek writers, let us, now see if we can identify them with any of the Indian kings known to us. Other scholars have already tried to solve this question. Till recently the tendency was to take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person and then to identify him with Chandragupta Maurya. But recently scholars have started distinguishing between Xandrames and Sandrocottus. These scholars take Sandrocottus to be the same as Chandragupta Maurya and Xandrames to be the Nanda king. Therefore let us go into details.

I must make it clear, here, that it is impossible to take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to refer to the same person. This, as we have seen, definitely goes against the very clear testimony of the Greek writers, who definitely treat Xandrames and Sandrocottus as two distinct persons. If these two names refer to the same person, how is it that some writers (D. and C.) take him to be ruling when Alexander was in India and others (Pl. and J.) take him to have come to the throne after Alexander left India? It is only after flagrantly disregarding the Greek evidence that we can take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person. I, therefore, do not admit their identity. Let us, then, consider the question considering these two as two different persons, come to the throne of Magadha one after the other.

But, here, we meet with one difficulty. Did Xandrames succeed the old king immediately? Here we get two distinct statements. According to Diodorus, the old king was immediately succeeded by Xandrames and according to Curtius, after the murder of the old king, the barber had acted as the regent for some years and then it was that Xandrames came to the throne. Thus we get two Greek views about the succession.



Now, according to Indian sources, we know of the following successions of the Nandas and Mauryas. (1) Mahānanda (2) Mahāpadma (3) 8 sons of Mahāpadma (4) Chandragupta Maurya and (5) Bindusāra. But I must here note that though the Indian sources say that 8 sons of Mahāpadma ruled in succession, it is possible that, in reality, only one son of Mahāpadma had ruled. Thus we shall get the following successions:



Let us, first, take that 8 sons of Mahāpadma had ruled in succession and then identify the kings named by the Greek writers, according to the views of D and C both. In this case, if we identify Sandrocottus with Chandragupta Maurya, we must identify Xandrames with the 8th son of Mahāpadma, and the old king with the 7th son of Mahāpadma: or according to Curtius, Sandrocottus will be the same as Chandragupta Māurya, Xandrames the same as the 8th son, the regent barber the same as the 7th son and the old king the same as the 6th son. That is,

Acc. to D.	Acc. to G.
The old king=7th son	The old king=6th son
Xandrames=8th son	Barber=7th son
Sandrocottus=Chandragupta M.	Xandrames=8th son
	Sandrocottus=C. M.

But these equations do not fit with the Greek accounts. For, if we accept the view of Curtius, we will have to say that the 7th son of Mahāpadma was a barber and that this seventh son had murdered the 6th son; but for both these assumptions there is absolutely no support in the Indian sources. And if we accept the view of Diodorus, we will have to say that Xandrames was the brother of the old king. In fact according to both these equations this difficulty remains, as according to one the old king and Xandrames will be brothers (being equated with the 7th and 8th sons of Mahāpadma) and according to the other, all the three—the old king, the barber and Xandrames—will be brothers, they being equated with the 6th, 7th and the 8th sons of Mahāpadma. Therefore these equations will not do.

Let us, then, take that after Mahāpadma ruled only one of his sons and then the throne passed on to Chandragupta Maurya. If so, we get the following two equations.

Acc. to D.	Acc. to G.
Mahānanda= ?	Mahānanda=The old king
Mahāpadma=The old king	Mahāpadma=The Barber
one son=Xandrames	one son=Xandrames
Chandragupta M.=Sandrocottus	Chandra. M.=Sandrocottus

Now, if we accept the first of the above two equations, we will have to say that the one son of Mahāpadma, was his illegal son i. e. was a son of one of his queens by a barber but for such an assumption; there is absolutely no proof in Indian sources.

Thus we come to the second of the above two equations. This equation, according to some of the modern scholars¹, satisfies all the details given by the Greek writers. They rely upon *Sihavirāvalīkārīta* of Hemacandrācārya. They say that according to Hemacandra, Mahāpadma was the son of a barber by a courtesan. Thus Mahāpadma being the son of a barber will himself be a barber. Therefore, these scholars take Mahāpadma to be the same as the barber of the Greek writers. I shall clarify this point.

1. Raychaudhuri, Pradhan, Jayswal, Tripathi and others.

If Mahāpadma is the barber of the Greek writers, we shall have to say that Chandragupta Maurya was the same as Sandrocottus, his predecessor the one son of Mahāpadma the same as Xandrames, Mahāpadma the same as the barber and Mahānanda the same as the old king. Thus this equation, at first, seems to satisfy all the details given by the Greek accounts, which according to this equation seem to be fully supported by the Indian evidence. But though this equation seems to satisfy all the conditions, I must submit that there are several grave difficulties in accepting it as correct. These difficulties are as under:

(1) According to this equation, Mahānanda will be the same as the old king and Mahāpadma the same as the barber. But if we accept this, we find that the details of the lives of the barber, and the old king as given by the Greek writers are not supported by the Indian evidence. The Greek writers say that the queen of the old king was in love with a barber and Xandrames was the son of this barber. According to Hemacandra, as interpreted by the scholars, Mahāpadma was the son of a barber by a courtesan, and therefore was himself a barber. Now the question is this. Is the barber of Hemacandra, who was in love with a courtesan, the same as the barber of the Greek writers, who was in love with the old king's queen? If so, the courtesan should be taken to be the same as the queen of the old king and her son (by the barber) to be the same as Xandrames. Hemacandra says that Mahāpadma was the son of this courtesan, therefore, according to the above, he should be the same as Xandrames. But this goes against the equation which we are considering, according to which Mahāpadma's son was the same as Xandrames. Therefore, we will have to say that Hemacandra's barber is not the same as the Greek writers' barber. Then, is the son of Hemacandra's barber, who also, according to these scholars will be called a barber, the same as the barber of the Greek writers? Apparently that is what these scholars say. But if so, we will have to say that the father barber (i. e. Hemacandra's barber) had a son by a courtesan and also that this barber son of this barber father had, by the queen of the old king a son who was the same as Xandrames. In that case, the barber and the courtesan of Hemacandra will not be the same as the barber and the old king's queen, which these scholars would like to be the case. Because, if Hemacandra's barber and courtesan are not the same as the Greek writers' barber and the old king's queen, then

there is no support, in Indian sources, for saying that Mahāpadma (who was a barber) had a love affair with Mahāpama's queen, which he should have had, if his one son is to be the same as Xandrames.

Again, if we believe in this equation, we will have to say that Mahāpadma the barber, had ruled as a regent only. But I should submit that all the Indian accounts of Mahāpadma take him to be not only a great conqueror but as the starter of a separate Imperial dynasty. The account of Curtius, in no way, even suggests that his regent barber had been an emperor. 'Supreme position' in his statement clearly refers to the supreme position in his kingdom and not in the whole of India. Therefore also, this equation is not satisfactory.

And, we should not forget that, according to Diodorus the barber did not rule at all (not even as a regent) and therefore, Mahāpadma could in no case, be the same as the barber.

(2) Again, according to this equation, we have to identify Xandrames with one son of Mahāpadma, but here also there are difficulties. The name Xandrames cannot be equated phonetically by any stretch of imagination, with the name of the successor of Mahāpadma who is variously named as Sumālya, Sukalpa, Suhasta, Dhanananda or Yogananda. But none of these has even the nearest phonetic affinity with Xandrames. In order to, escape from this difficulty, some scholars¹ seem to suggest that Agrammes is the correct name (and not Xandrames) and that Agrammes can be equated with the name of the successor of Mahāpadma. These scholars, say that Mahāpadma was also called Ugrasena, and patronymic from Ugrasena will be Augrasenya and this, they seem to suggest, can equate with Agrammes. But even here, there are several difficulties. There is no source which categorically says that Ugrasena was another name of Mahāpadma. It is only an inference drawn by these scholars. But even if we take it that Mahāpadma had Ugrasena as his other name, it is very unlikely that Porus, who informed Alexander, should use the patronymic of the Eastern king, and not his personal name, which is the most universal practice in ancient India. No king is, yet, known to have been, in official references, called by his patronymic. And even taking that

1. Raychaudhuri, Tripathi and others.

Porus had used the patronymic Augrasenya, it is very difficult to equate it with Agrammes. In the first place, as I have suggested earlier, the real name must have been Xandrames and just like Sandrocottus and Androcottus, Xandrames itself must have changed to Andrames and then to Agrammes. Again Agrammes and Augrasenya cannot be identical, as only the first part of the name have a phonetic similarity, but the last parts ('senya' and 'mmes') have no phonetic similarity whatsoever. By no stretch of argument can we affix the termination 'mas' to 'Augra.' On the contrary, this termination 'mes' which is common to both Xandrames and Agrammes, supports my contention that the original name was Xandrames. Moreover, if we take Agrammes to stand for Augrasenya, we shall have to say that the successor of Mahāpadma had still another name (personal) which should equate with Xandrames, for which assumption there is not the least ground in Indian sources, as none of the names of the successor of Mahānanda, as given in the various sources, can equate with Xandrames. And it cannot be said that Agrammes had changed to Xandrames, by scribal error, for addition of 'X' can, under no circumstances, happen by mishearing or misspelling. Due to all these reasons I do not think that Augrasenya can be equated with Xandrames. Thirdly, if we take Xandrames to be the same as the one son of Mahāpadma, we shall have to say, according to the Greek accounts, that son of Mahānanda (the barber) was really the son Mahāpadma (the barber) by the queen of Mahāpadma (the old king). But for saying so, there is absolutely no support from any of the Indian sources. Therefore, also this equation will not do.

(3) Again, according to this equation, we shall have to say that Sandrocottus was the same as Chandragupta Maurya. But in saying so there are many difficulties. (i) The Greek writers say that Sandrocottus had become oppressive, but no Indian account calls Chandragupta Maurya to have been oppressive. (ii) According to Justin, Sandrocottus was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen etc. But it is really surprising that if Sandrocottus is the same as Chandragupta Maurya, the Greek account which gives this detail of his life should entirely gloss over the insult that Chandragupta Maurya, according to Indian accounts, had met with from the last Nanda king. In fact, according to Indian accounts, it was this circumstance that inspired Chandragupta Maurya to gain the throne of Magadha, not the lion and omen etc. (iii) But

the most important point to bear in mind is this that all Indian accounts are unanimous in saying that Chandragupta Maurya had come to the throne by Capakya's help. But the Greek accounts, one and all, are entirely silent about this most outstanding point. They do not even mention the name of Capakya, or for the matter of that, of any minister at all. How is it that the Greek accounts, which go into such details as the lion and omen, are altogether silent about this most important point? The Greek accounts are silent about this as well as about the insult given to Chandragupta Maurya. Both these are very important points in the life of Chandragupta Maurya and yet the Greek accounts know nothing about them. Why is it so? The answer can be one only, that the Greek accounts of Sandrocottus do not refer to Chandragupta Maurya.

Thus we find that there are serious difficulties in taking the Greek accounts to refer to the times of the Nandas and Mauryas. We have seen that many points go against identifying (1) Mahāpadma with the barber of the Greek writers, (2) Mahāpadma's one son with Xandrames and (3) Chandragupta Maurya with Sandrocottus. For all these reasons, I believe that even this equation, which we have been considering will not do. At any rate, let us bear in mind that it is only by serious disregard and distortions of both the Greek accounts and the Indian accounts that the scholars have, somehow, been able to make the Greek accounts refer to the Nandas and the Mauryas.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREEK EVIDENCE AND THE GUPTAS

WE shall, now, see if the Greek accounts of Xandrames and Sandrocottus have anything in common with the life-incidents of the first Gupta king-Chandrgupta I. But before we do so, I shall clarify a point or two. In the above discussions, while applying the details of the Greek accounts to the life of the Nanda kings and to that of Chandragupta Maurya, I had given all the possible options as are possible, according to the interpretations of the modern scholars and also according to the different views expressed by the Greek writers themselves. For instance, I treated Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person as well as two different persons. Similarly, I took Xandrames to have come to the throne immediately after the murder of the old king as well as after the regency of the barber. But, here, I shall clarify my own position about these questions. I must say that according to the analysis of the Greek accounts as I have given before, there arises no question of Xandrames and Sandrocottus being one and the same person. They are two different persons. But I must admit that though the various Greek accounts are coherent and homogeneous on almost all the points, there are two points on which discrepant statements are very clear. These are as under.

(1) Diodorus says that the old king was murdered by his wife, while Curtius says that he was murdered by the barber himself. Thus here is a real conflict.

(2) According to both Diodorus and Curtius, Xandrames was born of an old king's queen by a barber; but according to Diodorus, he was born before the murder of the old king and according to Curtius, he was born after the murder of the old king. Thus according to Diodorus, Xandrames had come to the throne immediately after the murder of the old king, according to Curtius, he had come to the throne some years after the murder of the old king. These two are conflicting details.

The conflicting nature of these details only means that there had been some confusion in the traditions about them. For instance, it may mean that the old king was murdered by a joint conspiracy of the queen and the barber, and that later, some sources blamed the queen alone and others blamed the barber alone.

About the second point, we have got to choose between Diodorus and Curtius, when one says that Xandrames was born *before* the death of the old king and the other says that he was born *after* the death of the old king. I am personally inclined to believe in the account of Diodorus, who was earlier to Curtius by about a century, and who says that Xandrames was born before the murder of the old king. But regarding the accession of Xandrames to the throne, I think that there must have been two distinct traditions current, one saying that Xandrames came to the throne immediately after the death of the old king and the other that he came to the throne some years after the death of the old king. There is just a possibility that these two traditions had come into existence because Xandrames had come to the throne twice. That is, he might have come to the throne immediately after the death of the old king, then might have been dispossessed of his throne by some enemy and then again, might have regained his throne after some years. It is just a possibility, but we should not rule it out, for if we grant this, we can very well explain the conflicting nature of details as given by Diodorus and Curtius.

Thus, this is what I believe about the sequence of events: (1) Xandrames was the son of the barber (2) The old king was murdered by a joint conspiracy of the queen and the barber. (3) Xandrames had come to the throne twice, once immediately after the death of the old king and again some years after the death of the old king. (4) There was no regency of the barber.

Keeping the possibility of such a construction of the Greek accounts in mind, let us, now, apply these accounts to the life of Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

But, here, at the very outset, we meet with a check. We seem to know nothing about the life of Chandragupta. What is known from the Gupta inscriptions is only this that he had married a princess of the Licchavi clan, and that it was with the help of these Licchavis that he had gained the throne of Magadha. We also know that the father and grandfather of Chandragupta were not the emperors of Magadha, they were petty chieftains. We know nothing more than this about the life of Chandragupta I. But I must point out that though the scholars are not agreed about its acceptance, Jayswal has propounded a theory which throws some light on the circumstances under which Chandragupta I had come to the throne. Some time back, a drama which is named as *Kaumudimahotsava* had been discovered and published. Jayswal has said that Candāsena of that play is the same as Chandragupta I. I, along with some others, have already declared the acceptance of Jayswal's theory. Only, I have proposed one or two emendations in Jayswal's reconstruction. I give here, a consolidated summary of the results of Jayswal's theory as modified by me.

There was a king of Magadha named Sundaravarman. He had no heir to the throne. He had, therefore, adopted Candāsena as his heir. But some time after this adoption, Sundaravarman got a legal son by one of his queens. So Candāsena "though calling (vyapadīṣan) himself a scion of the Magadha family," contracted a relation (apparently a marriage relation) with the Licchavis and with their help killed Sundaravarman and himself ascended the throne of Magadha. I must, here point out that this fact of Candāsena's coming to throne of Magadha with the help of the Licchavis alone shows that Candāsena is to be identified with Chandragupta. In the whole history of Magadha, we know of no other king as having come to the throne with the help of the Licchavis. Only Chandragupta is known to have formed an alliance with the Licchavis and thus gained the throne of Magadha. We should remember that the play also talks of the throne of Magadha and no other country. Therefore Candāsena, who is said to have come to the throne of Magadha, with the help of the Licchavis, could be no other than Chandragupta.

When the throne of Magadha passed on to Candāsena, the old and faithful minister of Sundaravarman, removed Kalvāṇavarman

(who was his legal son born after the adoption of Candāsena) to the fastnesses of the Vindhya. And when Kalyāṇavarma came to age, taking advantage of Candāsena's absence from Magadha (as he had gone to quench a rebellion on the frontiers) they attacked Magadha and put Kalyāṇavarmā on the throne.

Now, Jayswal has suggested (though not very clearly) that this Candāsena i. e. Chandragupta I thus dispossessed of the throne might have died on the battle field. In this connection, I have suggested that Candāsena i. e. Chandragupta I was not killed in the battle, but had retired to some place and that it was by the exploit of Samudragupta that he had regained Pāṭaliputra. Allahbad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta clearly says "daydam grāhayateva kotakulajam puṣpāhvaye kriḍatā", which means that the scion of the Kṛtā family was the king of Pāṭliputra and that Samudragupta, after defeating this prince of the Kota family, had entered (kriḍ cannot be taken to mean play or amuse as some translators do) easily the capital. At any rate, as is accepted by Jayswal, this verse of the inscription clearly shows that Samudragupta had to reconquer Pāṭaliputra. This would again mean that it was lost by himself or by his father. I agree with Jayswal in identifying the prince of the Kota family with Kalyāṇavarmā of the play, but further suggest that it was Samudragupta who had defeated Kalyāṇavarmā and had reinstated his father on the throne of Pāṭaliputra; and it was in recognition of such a noble deed of Samudragupta that out of gratitude and love, Chandragupta I had appointed Samudragupta, (who apparently was not his eldest son) as his heir and successor to the throne, Chandragupta I, thus reinstated, had ruled for some years and then died. And then came Samudragupta on the throne.

I must also point out here that according to the authoress of the play, Candāsena belonged to a very low caste. On hearing that Candāsena had come to the throne of Magadha, a character of the play exclaims:

कथमीदृशवर्णस्य राज्ञी :

which shows very clearly that Candāsena was considered to belong to a very low caste (varṇa). This is the reconstruction from the play which has already been made.

Now, we shall apply the Greek accounts to Chandragupta I. I must, here, declare that so far as I can see Xandrames and Sand-

rocottus are treated as two distinct individuals by the Greek writers themselves and I identify Xandrames with Chandragupta I and Sandrocottus with Samudragupta. If so, the details of the life of Xandrames as given by the Greek writers should tally with the details of the life of Chandragupta I and the details of the life of Sandrocottus as given by the Greek writers should tally with the details of the life of Samudragupta. Let us see whether it is so or not. Following are the incidents of Xandrames' life as I have interpreted them earlier:

- (1) He was the son of a barber.
- (2) He had succeeded the old king immediately after he was murdered by the joint conspiracy of the barber and the queen.
- (3) He was ruling at Magadha when Alexander was in India.
- (4) He had come to the throne twice, once immediately after the murder of the old king and again some years after his murder as is suggested by me above.

If we compare these points of the life of Xandrames with those of the life of Chandragupta I, we find some points of similarity and some of dissimilarity. The points of similarity are as under:

- (1) Both were considered as belonging to a low caste—(cf. "a man of worthless character and held in no respect as he was thought to be a son of a barber"—D. "not merely a man originally of no distinction, but even of the very meanest condition"—C.; as also the play *Kaumudimahotsava* p. 29-30 "kāṛaskarah sa khalu samprati pāṛthivānām" and "kutredgavarṇasyāsya rājāṛih" which clearly mean that Caṇḍasena's varṇa i. e. caste was considered unworthy of royalty i. e. was very low.

- (2) The king, who was murdered, was an old man. D actually calls him 'old king' and Sundaravarmā is positively described as old in the play (p. 30).

- (3) This old king, according to both the accounts, was killed treacherously. Greek writers actually use the word 'treacherously', while the play says that Sundaravarmā was killed in a battle, but the words 'svayam magadhakulam vyapadīṣannapi magadhakulvairibhir licchavibhiḥ saha sambandham kṛtvā labdhāvasaraḥ' (p. 30) suggest that Caṇḍasena's siege of Kusumapura was considered treacherous.

(4) Greek accounts, as I have shown above, suggest that Xandrames had come to the throne twice; and I have already suggested the possibility of Chandragupta I having come to the throne twice.

But there are points of dissimilarity also.

(1) The Greek accounts say that the father of Xandrames was a barber, while the play says nothing about Candāsena's father. But here, there is no conflict, firstly because the authoress of the play had no occasion to mention the profession of Candāsena's actual father and secondly because we are clearly told in the play that Candāsena, apparently from his natural father's side, belonged to a very low caste. Therefore Candāsena's father could have been a barber.

(2) Just as the play is silent about the barber, it is also silent about the love-affair of the barber and the queen. But this also can be easily explained. As in the case of the barber, so here also, the authoress had no occasion to mention the love-affair. And even otherwise, it is clear that the authoress was patronised by a descendent of Sundaravaman and it is, therefore, most natural that she would like to avoid all references to the scandal about a queen of his patron's family.

(3) Diodorus makes the queen kill the old king, Curtius makes the barber kill the old king and the play makes Candāsena (i. e. Xandrames) to kill the king. This only means, as I have already suggested that all the three together had planned the conspiracy and different sources apportioned the blame to different persons. Moreover, we can very well understand that the authoress would not involve the queen and therefore the barber also in the affair.

(4) The play says that Candāsena (= Xandrames) was the adopted son of Sundaravarman (= the old king) while the Greek sources say that Xandrames was the son of a barber by one of the queens of the old king. Here it can be objected that according to Greek version Xandrames would be considered a natural son and not an adopted son of the old king, because he was born of the king's queen, and according to the play he was his adopted son. But we should remember that in both the cases the natural father of Xandrames was other than the old king, only the Greek sources seem to suggest that the old king did not know the fact and took him to be his own son, while the play clearly says that

Caṇḍasena (= Xandrames) was adopted by the old king, suggesting that there was no misunderstanding about his parentage.

But we must remember that, here, the Greek accounts are greatly confused. Diodorus says that Xandrames was born before the death of the king and Curtius says that he was born after the death of the king. Again Diodorus makes Xandrames to come to the throne immediately after the death of the king, and Curtius makes him to come to the throne some years after the death of the king, suggesting a period of regency of the barber. I think that this whole confusion can be explained thus:

Let us take it like this. Xandrames or Caṇḍasena was really the son of a barber (not by the queen). This barber had a real love-affair with the queen of the old king, and was able to persuade the queen and through her the king, to adopt his son as the heir to the throne. In such a case, the story might become current that Xandrames was the queen's son by the barber. Again this would explain one other thing. The authoress says that Sundaravarman had adopted Caṇḍasena in a moment of weakness, not knowing his own mind (*Svasvabhāvāviditayā*). How was it that Sundaravarman, who, according to the authoress, belonged to an exalted kingly family, adopted a son belonging not to a royal family, but to a very low family? I think only a circumstance such as is mentioned by the Greek writers can explain this strange and unexpected conduct of the king. If the barber had obtained the love of the queen and through her the utmost confidence of the king, he must have vitiated the mind of the king to such an extent that the old king had no free will left to exercise. It must have been in such a moment of weakness that the king had adopted the barber's son. At any rate, such a construction of events satisfactorily explains the above-noted conflict between the Greek and the Indian accounts. The important point to be noted is that according to both the accounts the old king was not the natural father of Xandrames and that his natural father according to both the sources, belonged to a very low caste. The play mentions the name of the caste as *Kāraskāra*, and the Greek writers mention the profession of the father as that of a barber. As one mentions the caste and the other the profession, there is no conflict between the two accounts.

Here it may be urged that according to the Gupta inscriptions, Chandragupta I's (whom I identify with Xandrames and Caṇḍasena)

father was Ghatotkaca and his grandfather was Sri-Gupta, both of whom held the title of Mahārāja. Thus Chandragupta I (= Xandrames, Candāsena), being the son of a mahārāja, could not have been the son of a barber 'scarcely staying off hunger by his daily earnings.' This is an objection; but even this can be explained. We know absolutely nothing about Ghatotkaca and Sri Gupta, except that according to the inscriptions of his grandson, who had become a real emperor of India (mahārājādhirāja), they held the title of mahārāja. But if Xandrames of the Greek writers is the same as Chandragupta I, Ghatotkaca must be the same as the barber. I must say that it is not altogether impossible if Ghatotkaca who, at one time, was a poor barber, had later held the title of mahārāja. In the first place his outlandish name suggests that he belonged to a class or caste, which is unfamiliar in ancient Indian royal dynasties. He might as well have been a Karaskara or a barber. It is not impossible if Ghatotkaca was actually living as a barber and then had won the love of the queen and through her, the favour of the king. If, as is told by Curtius, 'he had advanced to too near a place in the confidence' of the old king, it is likely that he had persuaded the king to bestow 'a jagir' or some districts upon himself or better upon his father—Gupta—, which might entitle them to the title of mahārāja.¹ Indian kings, giving away large districts and even whole kingdoms (like Kashmir to Māttagupta) to their favourites are known to history. Therefore, to me, there seems to be no inherent or insurmountable difficulty, if we identify Xandrames with Candāsena and both with Chandragupta I.

If we consolidate the two accounts—the account of the play and the accounts of the Greek writers—we can reconstruct thus. Sundaravarman, the king of Mughadha, was issueless. He had a queen who was in love with a barber named Ghatotkaca. This barber, through her favour, rose in the esteem of the king and in due course, (i) could make the king to bestow a goodly Jagir on his family or on his father Gupta, and (ii) could further make the issueless king to adopt his own son, who was then called Candāsena. This son would, now, be known as the son of king Sundaravarman. He would thus be an heir to his throne. But when, in his old age, Sundaravarman had a legal son by one of his queens,

1. Ghatotkaca is called Guptanāmadirāja by Prabhavatiguptā. Sri Gupta is not even mentioned by her.

this adopted son Chandrasena, his father Ghatotkaca and the queen all the three together hatched out a plot, as a consequence of which, at first, Chandrasena was married to a Licchavi princess named Kumāradevi, and then taking advantage, probably of Sundaravarman's unawareness, they, with the aid of the Licchavis attacked Pataliputra and killed the old king. The siege laid to Kusumapura was probably laid treacherously.

Then, after the death of Sundaravarman, Candrasena, who might have, now assumed the name Candra, came to the throne of Magadha. He ruled for some years and then, when he was away to quench a rebellion, the old ministers of Sundaravarman, taking advantage of his absence, put Kalyāṇavarman, the natural son of Sundaravarman, on the throne. This Kalyāṇavarman, then ruled for some years, at the end of which he was defeated in a battle by Samudragupta and then Chandragupta I was reinstated on the throne of Magadha.

Such a construction of events, though partially based on some imagination, is I think, plausible and removes all the conflict between the various accounts. As a matter of fact, one account supplements the other and we get the full story of the circumstances, under which Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, came to possess the throne of Magadha.

Thus we find that the incidents of the life of Xandrames, as given by the Greek writers, are practically the same as the incidents of the life of Chandragupta I. (i. e. Candrasena) as given in the play. Therefore, I identify Xandrames with Chandragupta I. And I identify Sandrocottus with Samudragupta. Let us therefore see whether the incidents of the life of Sandrocottus can be applied to the life of Samudragupta or not.

(1) The Greek writers say, Sandrocottus was without a throne. As such, he had seen Alexander, had offended him and was ordered to be put to death by Alexander: but he fled and thus saved himself. He, then, collected a band of robbers, defeated Alexander's prefects and after that he gained the throne of Magadha.

Now about the life of Samudragupta, we know that he had to conquer Pataliputra. The line "daṇḍam grāhayateva koṭakulajam puṣpāhvaye kriḍatā" found in the Allahbad inscription conclusively proves this, as is acknowledged by Jayswal. This means that when Samudragupta started his career, his father had lost Magadha.

We have seen above how Chandragupta I had lost his kingdom of Magadha. Having lost it he and his family might have, necessarily, fled away from Magadha. The place where they are likely to have gone would be the place of their original habitation. Now they, being *kāraskaras*, must have originally belonged to a country of that name. *Kāraskira*, in spoken language can change to *Kakar*, and Jayswal has actually identified *Kāraskaras* with *Kakar Jāts* of the Punjab. Now I must submit that, according to *Bauddhāyana Dharmasūtra* (I, 1, 14), *Kāraskaras* were living beyond the Hindu country proper and any one visiting their country had to undergo a course of *prāyascitta*, as they were considered low. Countries to the west of the Indus are generally taken to be beyond the pale of Hinduism, and we find the name *Karkar* or *Kakar* or *Kokala* applied to certain tribes and certain localities in Sind, Balucistan and the Punjab. There is a *Kakara talukā* in Larkhana district in Sind. There is a *Karkar* range in Balucistan. There are some other localities of the same name near about. Out of all these places I think that *Samudragupta* and his father *Chandragupta* must have repared (when they were ousted from Magadha by *Kalyāṇavarman*) to south-eastern coast (on the Arabian Sea) of the present *Las Bela* state.

If *Sandrocottus* had seen Alexander and offended him, he could not have met him in the Punjab. When Alexander had reached the eastern-most point of his march, he was told by *Poros* what is noted about *Xandrames* by *Diodorus* and *Curtius*. Evidently, at that time Alexander had not seen *Xandrames* or *Sandrocottus*. Therefore, it must have been after his retreat that *Sandrocottus* must have met him.

I think that *Sandrocottus* had met Alexander in the district which is named by the Greek writers as *Oreitai* and which is identified by modern writers with the territory of *Las Bela*. Now *Arrian* has noted (*Indika* XXIII, 7) that there was a place called *Kokala* near the border of *Oreitai*. That is, *Kokala* must have been situated on the southern coast of *Las Bela* state, because it was reached as one left the Indus delta and took a coasting voyage westwards. *Kokala*, I think, is the same as *Kakar* and it was somewhere here (near the modern *Kandewari* in *Las Bela* State) that *Sandrocottus* had met Alexander.

Thus if *Sandrocottus* met Alexander in this locality, it must have been on the latter's return journey and somewhere in the

year 325 B. C. If at this time Sandrocottus had been living in this locality, because his father had lost the kingdom of Magadha we can well understand his mental condition. His father had lost his kingdom. He himself was second or third son of his family, and as such even if his father had any dominions left for himself, he could not hope to inherit the same. And himself being a spirited young man with high ideals and ambition, he might have thought of acting on his own initiative. He seems to have gone to Alexander for asking for his help or for some such purpose. But he did not become successful in his mission. On the contrary, he seems to have incurred the displeasure of the Greek emperor. This must have utterly dejected him. And, though Justin's version reads more like a fairy-tale, it is not altogether impossible, if in this mood of dejection and exhaustion, he was lying in some forest, where some lion or tiger passed by him without harming him. Such a providential escape might well be interpreted as a good omen and might fill a precocious youth with courage and confidence for his future.

Then he collected a band of robbers or probably of foresters and first captured those districts in the north-west of India which were left in charge of Alexander's prefects. And thus establishing himself, he, then marched on to Magadha and conquered it.

Such a reconstruction is perfectly possible in Gupta history, particularly when we know, from Samudragupta's own inscription that he had to reconquer Pataliputra which suggests that Chandragupta I had lost it.

(2) The Greek writers say that Sandrocottus was born in humble life. If Chandragupta I had lost his kingdom, it can be said that Samudragupta belonged to humble life.

(3) The Greek writers say that after thus establishing himself Sandrocottus had overrun and subdued the whole of India, and we know that Samudragupta after obtaining Magadha did subdue the whole of India, including the kingdom of Dakṣiṇapatha and frontiers.

(4) Justin says that Sandrocottus practised tyranny and oppressed the people with servitude. The tradition that the Guptas were wicked people had persisted upto the days of Al Beruni; but I shall show, below, that our Indian sources also call Samudragupta to have been very oppressive, at least in the beginning of his career.

Thus I identify Xandrames with Chandragupta I and Sandrocottus with Samudragupta. Phonetically, Xandrames is the same as Candramas. Even Samudragupta can be related phonetically with Sandrocottus. Samudra has a dialectal variation like 'samandara' which through sa-undar (सउंदर) can yield Sandra or Sandro. Thus phonetically there should be no particular objection in these two identifications.

I shall, lastly, show how Samudragupta is mentioned as oppressive in Indian sources.

In *Maujusrimulakalpa*, his character is given thus (Ed. R. San-kṛtyayana, appended to Jayawal's Imperial History of India, p. 48. verses 694 ff.)

"He was lordly, shedder of excessive blood, of great powers and dominion, heartless, ever vigilant (mindful) about his own person, unmindful about the hereafter, sacrificing animals; with bad councillor he greatly committed sin."

Here Samudragupta is described as shedder of excessive blood, heartless and doer of sin, which shows that the Buddhist author of MMK took him to be oppressive.

But I must, here, declare that even the *Purāṇas* give a similar character to Samudragupta. Scholars say that Samudragupta, and for the matter of that no Gupta king is named in the *Purāṇas* by name. But I must say that it is not so. Not only Samudragupta is mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, but a very graphic picture of his character is given in the *Purāṇas*. As the question is of utmost importance, as it has not been detected so far by any one else, and as it sheds a considerable light on the Gupta history, I shall discuss it fully.

It will be seen that after the *Āndhras*, there is a section in the *Purāṇas*, which is named by Pargiter as 'Various Local Dynasties.' That section describes the various local dynasties which were 'more or less contemporaneous' as Pargiter says. Or, to be correct, they were the various local dynasties, which ruled during the period of 400 to 500 years, during which the *Āndhras*, according to the *Purāṇas*, ruled. The last king of this section is *Vindhyaśakti*; who was the founder of the *Vākāṇka* house. And, according to the modern scholars the rise of *Vindhyaśakti* was

some 70 years before the rise of the Guptas, so that this section brings the history to 70 years before Samudragupta.

Then follows the section which Pargiter names as, "Dynasties of Vidiśā etc." That section comes down to Pravira i. e. Pravarasena I, (the son of Vindhyaśakti) and to the four sons of Pravarasena I. Now Rudrasena I (Vākāṭaka), who was defeated by Samudragupta, was the son of one of the four sons of Pravarasena I. Here it should be remembered that none of these four sons of Pravarasena I seems to have ruled and that therefore, Rudrasena I succeeded Pravarasena I almost directly. Therefore this section, which closes almost at the rise of Rudrasena I, comes down practically to the time of Samudragupta.

Then follows the section named by Pargiter as, "Dynasties of the Third century A. D." In this section various local dynasties are described and brought down actually to the rise of Samudragupta. "In Mekalā 7 kings will reign 70 years," and Jayswal has taken (*His. of India* p. 181) these seven kings to be the early 7 Pallavas, making last Viṣṇugopa, a contemporary of Samudragupta. Along with this is described, in the same section, a king of Magadha named Viśvasphai, whom I identify with Samudragupta.

Then follows the section called by Pargiter as 'Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth century.' These dynasties also come down to the time of Samudragupta. Kanaka or Kāna of this section is actually taken by Jayswal (p. 129 ff) as a contemporary of Samudragupta. In fact, both the sections named by Pargiter as 'Dynasties of the Third Century A. D.' and as 'Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth century, form one section, giving various local dynasties that ruled from the time of the establishment of the Vākāṭaka dynasty by Pravarasena I to the time of the rise of Samudragupta. Viṣṇugopa and Kāna are taken, as shown above, to be contemporaneous with Samudragupta. Even Pargiter says that these lists come upto to the rise of the Guptas (i. e. early fourth century). Thus it is quite clear that these Puranic descriptions come upto and stop at the rise of the Guptas i. e. at the time of Chandragupta and Samudragupta. Viśvasphai is the last king named and described as the king of Magadha. I think that he is Samudragupta. I shall quote the verses which describe viśvasphai.

मागधानां महावीरां	मागधानां तु भविता
विश्वस्फाणिर्गतिरिति	विश्वस्फाणिः पुरजयः
उत्साद्य पार्थिवान्मर्दानं	
सोऽन्धान्मर्दानंरिति	करिष्यत्यपारान्मर्दानं
कैवर्तान्मर्दानंरिति	पुलिन्दयुद्धमद्रकानं
पुलिन्दान्मर्दानंरिति	अजाधाम्मर्दानंरिति
स्थापयिष्यति राजानो	स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतिः
नानादेशेषु ते जना	वीर्यवान्मर्दानंरिति
विश्वस्फाणिर्गतिरिति	पद्मावत्यां स वै पुरी
युद्धे विष्णु समो बली	

विश्वस्फाणिर्गतिः बलीवाक्यतिरिचोच्यते

उत्साद्यिन्वा क्षत्रं तु अग्रमन्यतरिति

देवानि तु विश्व विप्राश्च तर्पयित्वा मकृत्पुनः

बाह्वीतीरमासाद्य शरीरं यस्यते बली

सन्धश्च स्वशरीरं तु शकलोकं रमिष्यति.

(Pargiter DKA, p. 52-55)

The above description of Visvasphani suggests a great conqueror and a great emperor. The question is this. Who was this great conqueror and emperor, who ruled at Magadha just after the time of the four sons of Pravarasena I and contemporaneously with Visvugopa and Kana? My emphatic answer to this question is he can be none else than the great Samudragupta himself. The description and the position are unmistakable. At the period at which, the Purāṇas put Visvasphani i. e. at the period which followed the period of the four sons of Pravarasena I, there was no other king of Magadha, with whom the description and the position given to Visvasphani in the Purāṇas, can fit in.

Jaywal has identified (*Hist of India* p. 42 ff.) Visvasphani with Vanasphara, the Satrap of Kanishka and has placed him in c. 90-120 A. D. But his identification is untenable. Visvasphani of the Purāṇas was a great conqueror and emperor, Vanasphara was neither. Visvasphani was the ruler of Magadha, Vanasphara is not known to have ruled at Magadha. Purāṇas put Visvasphani, as we have just seen, after Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena I and the latter's four sons. Jaywal himself puts the rise of Vindhyaśakti in c. 248 A. D. How, then, Vanasphara, whom he places in 90-120 A. D., can be the same as Visvasphani? The identification is, therefore, to be rejected. Nor is Visvasphani the same as Vindhyaśakti

or the same as one of the four sons of Pravarasena I, as is tentatively suggested by Dr. S. K. Aliyengar (*Ancient India*, Vol I, p. 176). It is a mere query and there is nothing whatsoever to support it. On the contrary, the Purāṇas very clearly distinguish between Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena I his four sons on the one hand and Viśvasphaji on the other.

Jayswal's desperate suggestion is due to sound-similarity between the names Vanasphara and Viśvasphaji. I think that the name Viśvasphaji in the Purāṇas stands for the original tribal name of Samudragupta. His grandfather, we know, bore an outlandish name Goṇotkaca. His father's name was Caṇḍasena. I think that his original name must have been something like Vindapharna a name which we know as the original name of Gondoparnes. The ending pharna or pharnas is found in other names also. Xenophan has 'phan' at the end, which I think is allied to pharga. The Behistan rock inscription (Column IV, para 18) of Darius mentions two names like Vidafrana and Vayaspara. Herodotus spells Vidafrana as Intafarnes. Famous Rūparga of Nalopākhyāna also ends in parṇa. And I suggest that phani of Viśvasphaji is a modification of this pharna. A name like Vindafrana or Vindapharna can easily be sanskritised into Viśvasphaji. There can hardly be any doubt that phonetically the name Viśvasphaji is meant to represent a name like Vindapharga; and the very fact that the name is spelt variously in the Ms. (Pargiter notes as many as 9 to 10 spellings of the name,) shows that it was a non-Sanskrit name, unfamiliar to the Purāṇikas and which they have tried to transliterate into Sanskrit as faithfully as they could.

If we take Viśvasphaji as Samudragupta, we find that the Purāṇas have ignored Chandragupta I altogether and started the Guptas with Samudragupta. This is as it should be. MMK starts the Guptas with Samudragupta and not with Chandragupta I. We have seen earlier that Chandragupta I had lost his kingdom and it was Samudragupta who had regained it and expanded it into a real empire. Therefore, in fact it was Samudragupta who was the first Gupta emperor. And I have shown elsewhere¹ that Kālidāsa, too started with Samudragupta in his plays, Samudragupta and not Chandragupta I, being represented by the hero of his earliest play viz. Mālavikāgnimitra. Even otherwise he clearly starts the Guptas

1. See, Kālidāsa and the Guptas, in the Annual Report for 1944-45 of Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

with Samudragupta in his famous reference to them in *Raghuvansh* (*āsamudrakṣitīśānām*).

This also shows that *Viśvasphaṇi* is the same as Samudragupta. The *Purāṇas* say about *Viśvasphaṇi* that he had uprooted the existing kings and put others who will be *abrāhmaṇas* on their throne. The reading *brāhmaṇa* accepted by Parigiter is certainly wrong. Whole context requires it to be *abrāhmaṇān*, which is the reading of *byṣ*. The *Purāṇas* are actually complaining that this *Viśvasphaṇi* had uprooted the existing *Kṣatriya* class and created i. e. put on the throne other *Kṣatriya* classes whom they call *Kaivartas*, *Pulindas*, *Yadus*, *Madras* etc.

Now read in this connection, the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta suggests that even Samudragupta had done the same. Regarding the kings of *dakṣiṇāpatha*, the inscription says 'sarvadakṣiṇāpatharājagrahaṇmokṣanugraha etc; i. e. He made the kings of the Southern countries accept his overlordship and then to rule as before. He did not uproot them. But about the kings of *āryāvarta* the inscription says—*anekāryāvartarājaprasabdhodhara-noddhataprabhāvamahatā*. This means that he had uprooted the *āryāvarta* kings, which would suggest that he must have put his own men to govern these *āryāvarta* countries. It is quite natural that being fresh, he would not trust the older families, at least' nearer home, particularly as some of them might have been relatives and allies of the Magadha king whom he had defeated and whose kingdom he had conquered. This policy of Samudragupta putting his own men (who naturally would be unbrahmanic) on the throne of the older unorthodox kings, seems to have been disliked by the Brahmana writers of the *Purāṇas* and I think, that in the above verses regarding *Viśvasphaṇi*, we have the first reactions of the *Brāhmaṇas* towards this policy of Samudragupta, recorded.

This also shows that Samudragupta was at first taken to be oppressive and that is what Justin says.

Thus, at the end of this examination of the Greek evidence we come to this conclusion. (1) There are grave difficulties in applying the Greek accounts to the Nandas and the Mauryas. (2) It is equally possible, if not more possible, to equate the details given by the Greek writers with the lives of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta. Therefore, if from other considerations, we come to conclude that Gupta Chandragupta and not Maurya Chandragupta was Alexander's contemporary, the Greek evidence should not be put as an obstacle in the way.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PIYADASI INSCRIPTIONS

IF the Guptas are to be put from 329 B. C., as I have done here, then the inscriptions, which are now taken to be Asoka Maurya's cannot be his. I have put the start of the Mauryas in 1551 B. C., but XIII rock edict of these inscriptions mentions the name of those Hellenistic kings who are known to have ruled in c. 280 B. C. Therefore if the scheme of chronology advocated here is correct, either these Hellenistic kings should have flourished in the XV century B. C. or these inscriptions are not Asoka Maurya's. I, here, suggest that these inscriptions can be Samudragupta's. Indeed, it is a very bold statement that the inscriptions, which have been so far ascribed to Asoka Maurya and one of which actually bears the name of Asoka, may, now, be ascribed to Samudragupta. It would look absurd, but I request the reader to be patient with me and consider all that I say very carefully and then only reject, if he needs must, my theory.

The personality of Asoka Maurya and the personality of Samudragupta have many traits in common. Indeed, it has been suggested with considerable force and reason that Samudragupta had actually and intentionally tried to mould his career after the example of Asoka Maurya. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says (*Ancient India* p. 247-8):—

"The whole series of these conquests (conquests of Samudragupta) as detailed in one elaborate inscription which has come down to us of this great ruler, had for their object nothing more than the bringing under the control and influence of one suzerain monarch, the whole territory included in the area, which in the best of its days constituted the empire of Asoka. It must be borne in mind that this record of Samudragupta is indited on a pillar which carries on it an Asokan inscription as well. Did Samudragupta then emulate the exploits of Asoka? Did he, in fact, know the history of Asoka or the extent of his empire and could he

have read the document on the pillar of Aśoka? The answer to this question may be given in the affirmative, for certain reasons."

In this passage and in what follows in the next two or three pages, by means of able and lucid reasoning a modern scholar proves that both in his temporal and spiritual outlook, Samudragupta had followed in the footsteps of Aśoka Maurya. Thus Aśoka Maurya and Samudragupta had many traits in common.

Same is proved from two or three other sources. Let us first gather all the details of Samudragupta's character from different sources, even at the risk of a little repetition.

MMK gives the following traits of Samudragupta's character (p. 48)

(1) He was of good fame. (2) He was lordly, (3) shedder of excessive blood, (4) of great powers and dominion, (5) heartless (6) ever vigilant, (7) mindful about his own person, (8) unmindful about the hereafter (9) sacrificing animals (10) with bad councillor he greatly committed sin. (11) His government was inundated with carping logicians, vile Brāhmanas. (12) Men and manes had every luxury (in his days.)

Now, we should remember that this is written by a Buddhist writer. Keeping apart the sectarian venom in this description, we find Samudragupta described (1) as a great fighter and conqueror and (2) as addicted to non-Buddhistic faith—he had performed animal-sacrifices and had satisfied manes.

I have earlier quoted the Puranic passages about Viśvasphajī and I have identified this king with Samudragupta. Therefore, according to the Purāṇas, Samudragupta will have the following traits in his life.

(1) He was a great hero (mahāvīrya, mahāsattva) (2) He was a foreigner or non-Brahmanic in his outlook (3) He had conquered practically all the ruling kings of his time (4) He had created a new military and ruling class by uprooting the earlier Kṣatriya class. So far the description refers to the conquering hero. Then the Purāṇas say that (1) he had satisfied (i. e. worshipped) Gods, manes and Brāhmanas, not once but repeatedly (asakṛt) (2) He had retired to Jāhnavīra at the end of his life. (3) He had resorted to Yoga (yañsyate) at the end of his life. (4) He had actually

taken *sannyāsa* (*sannyasya*) and gone to heaven (5) He was *Viṣṇu-samo bali*, which may mean strong like *Viṣṇu* or strong and like *Viṣṇu*.

If we compare this description of *Samudragupta*, with the one given in *MMK*, we find that both call him a great hero, a great conqueror. But there seems to be some conflict between the two. *MMK* calls him un-Buddhistic i. e. Brahmanic in outlook, while the *Purāṇas* describe him as un-Brahmanic. But this conflict is apparent only. Even the *Purāṇas* call him a true *Brahmaṇa*, when they say that he had worshipped repeatedly, the Gods, manes and *Brahmanas*. That is exactly what *MMK*, too, means, when it says 'men and manes had every luxury (in his days)'. Only, the description of the *Purāṇas* is fuller than that of *MMK*.

In the *Purāṇas*, we have a personality described which is, at once, marked out as unique. He seems to have started his career as a conquering hero, in which capacity he was mighty, strong, irresistible and even ruthless. Upto this time he was un-Brahmanic in his outlook. But later, he seems to have changed his character entirely. He, who was a non-Brahmana by birth, who had uprooted all the orthodox *Kṣatriyas* and put a—*Brahmaṇas* on the thrones of the indiginous princes, later, worshipped, not once but often the Gods, manes and *Brahmaṇas*. This only means that though originally a non-Brahmaṇa, he became a true Hindu by retiring to the Ganges as a *sannyāsi*, and actually worshipped *Brahmaṇas*. The description, though brief, reminds one of the very vivid picture given by Jayswal of the great welcome change that came over the character of the Gupta rule in the days of *Samudragupta*. The outlandish monarch became the truest of Hindus. Like the *Raghus*, he actually abandoned his body by yoga (*yogenānte tanutyaṇām*). He, as the *Purāṇas* would suggest was *parama bhāgavata* (*Viṣṇu samo*). Such an emperor, who, in the *Purāṇas* is described as the monarch of *Magadha*, coming soon after the four sons of *Pravarasena I*, I have made bold to say, could be no other than the great Gupta emperor *Samudragupta*.

Precisely the same is the character given to *Samudragupta* by *Hariṣeṇa* in his *Allahbad prāśasti*. The *prāśasti*, too, like the *Purāṇic* description of *Viṣvasphaṇi*, divides itself into two parts. The first part describes the conquering hero, actually mentioning like the *Purāṇas* that he had uprooted all the *Āryāvarta* kings,

which means that he had put others of his caste to govern the conquered countries. (In Puranic language he had created a new Kṣatriya class.) This part, like the part of Viśvasphapi's life given in the Purāṇas, shows that he was a great conqueror and emperor. Only, the court-poet of the great emperor cannot complain of his oppressive policy, as the Purāṇakāris, with a more native outlook and with a more honest insight, would do. That is only to be expected. But apart from the complaining mood of the Purāṇas, both the Prastāvi and the Purāṇas describe the same personality in the first part of their description. And, if it is true of the first part, it is all the more true of the second part of the description in both the sources. In the second part, the Purāṇas depict him as the truest of Hindus, as the most religious person and almost a mukta (Sakralokam gamiṣyati.) Hariṣeṇa, with his natural bias, depicts him as Viṣṇu incarnate. To Hariṣeṇa, he is so highly evolved spiritually that he, like the Supreme Reality, is acintya, Sādhvasādhūlayapralayahetupuruṣa, bhaktyavāntimātragrāhyamṛtūhṛdaya and finally lokasamayakriyānuvidhānamātramanuṣa and deva. Thus both the Prastāvi and the Purāṇas invest him with the highest of spiritual achievements.

Thus the Buddhist writer of MMK, the Brāhmaṇa writers of the Purāṇas, the court-poet Hariṣeṇa and the modern interpreters like Aiyangar and Jayswal all combine in giving us a picture of Samudragupta which is, at once, unique and outstanding. It will be seen that the life of Samudragupta as depicted by these authorities, tallies well with that of Aśoka Maurya in its two well-defined stages—one of ruthless aggressive violent policy and the other of calm and pious life. If, therefore, the Puranic description of Viśvasphapi refers to Samudragupta, as in all certainty it does, then we may say that Samudragupta, in his digvijaya and dyauvijaya (divam jayati), had followed the Mauryas and particularly Aśoka Maurya. Therefore, keeping this possibility in mind, let us, now, consider the question of the authorship of the Piyadasi inscriptions.

Aiyangar, with keen insight, has used an argument to show that Samudragupta had read the inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya. He has said that according to Hariṣeṇa, Samudragupta had the epithet of Kāvīrāja and Kāvīrāja, according to Rājasekhara, was a title to be conferred on one, who was able to make compositions, not only in Sanskrit but also in the various dialects of the country.

Samudragupta, possessing the little Kaviṛāja, was thus a good linguist. As such, Aiyangar says, he could have read and understood the inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya. I go a step forward and say that he had read Aśoka Maurya's inscriptions and had himself composed others like his. I say this on the following grounds.

Even a casual student of Piyadasi inscriptions can see that there are two well-marked out groups of them one group comprising the fourteen principal rock edicts, two separate Kalinga edicts, the seven principal pillar inscriptions and the Queen's edict, and the other group comprising the minor rock edicts, minor pillar inscriptions and the Barbara cave inscription. The first group is entirely non-Buddhistic and positively cosmopolitan in character, while the second group is entirely and positively Buddhistic in character. Now I suggest that inscriptions of the first group were published by Samudragupta and those of the second group by Aśoka Maurya. The two groups differ from one another, not only in their outlook (one being narrow and limited to a sect the other being broad and universal) but also in the maturity of expression and style.

In ascribing all the inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya, the modern scholars have found certain difficulties:—

Regarding the history to Aśoka's life, R. K. Mookerji says, (*Aśoka*, p. 2): "Of the two sources of his history, the legends (whether Ceylonese or Indian) rather hover over his early life and tend to retreat before the light that the edicts throw upon his later life, his career as emperor. The two sources are sometimes in agreement but oftener in conflict."

In this connection, I suggest that when the tradition and the inscriptions are 'oftener' in conflict with one another, the traditions refer to one person and the inscriptions to another. If we assume like that, then the above difficulty felt by Mookerji will, automatically, vanish. Aśoka Maurya's life seems to have been, almost from the start to the finish, a religious one. If the Kalinga edicts are to be referred to Samudragupta as I do, there is no other evidence to show that Aśoka Maurya had extended the empire inherited by him. The only noteworthy events of his life would, then, be his conversion and his missionary activities in the cause of Buddhism. In that case it would be quite proper if the traditions (both Ceylonese and Indian) record such activities of his only.

Again let us consider what the modern scholars say about the religion of Aśoka Maurya. Mookerji points out (p. 68): "We shall now treat of his public religion which he sought to present before his people. Negatively, we may say that it was not to be identified with any of the then prevailing faiths of the country. It was certainly not Buddhism, his own religion. 'We hear from him nothing concerning the deeper ideas or fundamental tenets of that faith; there is no mention of the four grand Truths, the eight fold path; the chain of causation; the Supernatural quality of Buddha; the world and the idea of difference which occupied the several sects are likewise ignored [*Camb. Hist. of India* I p. 505]. 'As also pointed out by Vincent Smith, the zeal of Aśoka for Buddhism is proved, not by his presentation of Dharma, but by his references to the canon, by the cast of his language, by his pilgrimages to Buddhist holy places and by his active control of Church' [*Aśoka* 3rd p. 60]. [adds Mookarji] i. e. by what does not appear in the principal edicts."

Thus, if these principal inscriptions are not ascribed to Aśoka Maurya, there is nothing that is violated. They may as well not be his. In fact, if we ascribe the principal edicts to Aśoka, it would be greatly surprising that he, who was a staunch missionary-Buddhist as he is known to be from the legends, should so scrupulously avoid in these edicts, all references to that religion. Buddhism, almost from its start and certainly in the days of Aśoka Maurya, had been a missionary religion. Aśoka is known, from traditions, to have sent out missions to different countries for the propagation of Buddhism. Is it, then, believable that such a staunch Buddhist, who had been an active controller of his Church and an active missionary of his religion, should, in the general broadcast (by means of these inscriptions) to his subjects and others, studiously avoid all references to Buddhism? To believe this is too great a strain on one's credulity. The conclusion should, rather be that the author of the principal edicts was not Aśoka Maurya. What is the evidence, apart from an arbitrary interpretation of these inscriptions, to show that Aśoka Maurya had a personal religion and a state religion as the modern scholars would have us believe? There is none whatsoever. This fundamental difference between the principal edicts and the known faith of Aśoka Maurya's life, should, I think, make us to think before ascribing these principal inscriptions to Aśoka. The most

natural conclusion is that the author of the principal inscriptions was not a Buddhist but a man of catholic outlook and therefore he could not be Aśoka Maurya. But Samudragupta, who was, at first non-Brahmanic and non-Buddhistic in religion, could well have been a king with such a tolerant and catholic outlook.

It seems to me that Aśoka Maurya was not a conqueror but was the faithful custodian of the great empire inherited by him, and apart from this he was a man of religion only. Samudragupta, on the contrary, was a conqueror, a victor and also as great a religious man as Aśoka himself. Samudragupta, too, as would be clear from the principal inscriptions (if we ascribe them to him,) was a great missionary. The difference, however was this. What Aśoka Maurya did for one religion viz Buddhism, Samudragupta did the same and perhaps more, for the beautifully cosmopolitan and vigorously practical religion (which he seems to have synthesised, taking the best from all the existing religions of the land) and which may have been termed by himself or by his immediate successors as Bhāgavata Dharma, but which we, today, with greater truth can name as Sanātana Hindu Dharma.

We have seen that the Buddhist writer of MMK considered Samudragupta a non-Buddhist. We have also seen that Purāṇakāras, at first, took him to have been non-Brahmanical. Thus Samudragupta owed no allegiance to any particular established religion. And if we bear in mind what Jayswal has said about the change of outlook, that came over the Guptas we can easily say that Samudragupta had developed a cosmopolitan outlook. He followed a policy of aggression at first, but he seems to have soon found out that if he wanted to establish an empire in India, he should live as a son of the land. And, therefore, he seems to have evolved this synthetic religion, of course leaning slightly on the side of Brahmanism (the upaniṣadic attitude), which, after all, had been the time-honoured religion of the country. Thus Samudragupta planned out and perfected what Akbar, 2,000 years later, planned but could not achieve. It is due to this cosmopolitan religious outlook of Samudragupta (and it was followed by his successors) that the author of MMK characterises the Guptas as 'the followers of *via media* in religious policy (*madhyamadharmiṇaḥ* P. 33). In fact, this description, by a Buddhist writer, of the Guptas strongly supports my position that Samudragupta had propounded, by means of these principal inscriptions, the Bhāgavata

Dharma, which, is so catholic in character and which the Buddhist writer has most aptly described as *madhyamādhama*. The Brahmanas might have disliked this new religion at first, but they must have, soon seen its great vitality and greater protective value (against heterodox religions) and therefore, they seem to have given it a place, nay made it a living part of their own religious scheme of life.¹

And, as we consider Samudragupta's career in this light as the giver of a new acceptable religion, we can well understand why Hariṣeṇa designates him by the term '*dharma-prācīrabandha*'. He must have synthesised the existing Brahmanic religions and put Viṣṇu as the Godhead of that religion. That is why he was considered Viṣṇu's mo by the Purāṇ-kāras and *acintya*, *lokaśamaya-kriyāmātrānavidī*, *ānamāṇṣa* etc by Hariṣeṇa.

If we bear in mind the above considerations, we can say that from the point of view of religious evidence as gathered from the legends about Aśoka Maurya, the principal inscriptions, MMK, the Purāṇas and the Allahbad *prastāvi* of Hariṣeṇa, everything is against ascribing these principal inscriptions to Aśoka Maurya and nothing against ascribing them to Samudragupta. On the contrary, there are some indications for ascribing them to the great Gupta emperor.

Earlier I have referred to Aiyangar's view that Samudragupta had emulated Aśoka Maurya and had read and understood his inscriptions. In so far as he was a '*kavirāja*' he was certainly a linguist and it is no wonder if he had, during his extensive expeditions, seen and read what we, now, term the minor inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya. It is also possible that, being a well read scholar he had studied the lives of Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka and might have thought of veing with the Mauryas. Possibly the name Chandragupta, which was adopted by Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty (his original name being Candāsena and later Candra only) was adopted by him at the suggestion of his son Samudragupta, to whom the idea might have been suggested by the name of the first Maurya king. He seems to have obtained the

1. It is maintained by some that Kṛṣṇa worship (particularly the worship of the cow-herd boy) had been prevalent in north-western parts of India. Is it not significant that Guptas who became great Bhagavatas, originally belonged to that part of India?

idea of propagating his religion by the minor edicts of Aśoka and to outshine him, possibly, he inscribed the principal edicts.

But the most important point to be considered in this respect is this. The author of the edicts makes it definitely clear that he turned to Dharma after witnessing the horrors of the Kalinga war. On this ground, it has been held that Aśoka Maurya had been converted to Buddhism after his Kalinga slaughter. And yet both in Indian and Ceylonese traditions, no trace of his (Aśoka's) Kalinga invasion and his subsequent nirveda is found. On the contrary, the reason of Aśoka's conversion, according to all these traditions, was either the telling teaching of a Buddhist monk or the nirveda caused by the sight of his narakālaya. Why is it that traditions, one and all, are entirely silent about the Kalinga incident? They not only ignore the Kalinga incident but speak of other reasons for his conversion; but is it possible that the traditions would ignore the Kalinga incident altogether, particularly when the king himself, so publicly, announces that incident as the cause of his taking to Dharma? The modern scholars have no answer for this. But on my hypothesis that the principal inscriptions including the Kalinga edicts do not belong to Aśoka Maurya, the matter can be easily explained. It only means that those traditions which speak of the life of Aśoka Maurya were altogether unaware of the Kalinga incident. The Kalinga war does not refer to Aśoka Maurya, but to Samudragupta. Apart from the evidence of these inscriptions, there is nothing else to show that Aśoka Maurya had conquered Kalinga. But we know positively that Samudragupta had conquered Kalinga. In fact, what is described as the Dakṣiṇapatha invasion of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta seems to be the same as the Kalinga invasion of the edicts. The Allahabad inscription speaks of the king of Piṣṭapura as one of the kings vanquished by Samudragupta and Piṣṭapura is taken as the capital of Kalinga. Jayswal, with a rare insight, has shown that Samudragupta had not defeated the kings of Dakṣiṇapatha one after the other separately, but all the kings of Dakṣiṇapatha who are mentioned in the *prasaṁti*, had formed themselves into a confederacy and it was against this confederacy of the southern kings that Samudragupta had fought and had obtained a decisive victory. According to Jayswal, this war against the confederacy had been fought at the Colair Lake, which was situated in the Kalinga country. Thus this war can very well be termed the Kalinga war.

In fact, there is a difficulty if we ascribe the Kalinga war to Aśoka Maurya. It is usually believed that it was Chandragupta Maurya, who had established the great Mauryan empire, subjugating countries as far south as Mysore. Aśoka had added only Kalinga to this empire. According to this Aśoka must have fought against the Kalinga king alone and not against a confederacy. Now the edicts say that in the Kalinga war, 10,000 men were killed, 1,50,000 men were taken prisoners and many more had perished. This amounts to the huge number of three to four lakhs. Is it possible that in fighting against one small country like Kalinga (which is not known to have been any significant power in the days of Aśoka) so great an army was involved and such huge casualties had occurred? I do not think this to be possible. On the contrary, if we take it that the Kalinga war of the edicts was fought by Samudragupta, we can very well explain these huge numbers. Samudragupta, as Jayswal has shown, had fought in Kalinga, against a joint confederacy of several kings and therefore the war must have been very terrific, involving such huge casualties and such terrible horrors, which opened the doors of Samudragupta's inner soul. It is for this reason that I think that Aśoka Maurya had neither fought the Kalinga war nor had he conquered the country of Kalinga. It was Samudragupta, who had fought that war, as a result of which he (Samudragupta, not Aśoka Maurya) turned to dharma. It is for this most obvious reason that the traditions are entirely silent about this most outstanding incident in the monarch's life. This alone, I think, is enough to prove that the author of the principal edicts is not Aśoka Maurya.

It is known from the traditions that Aśoka Maurya had sent out missions to various countries for the propagation of Buddhist religion. The XIII rock edict also refers to such missions. Let us examine the list of countries, which are mentioned in both these sources. According to the Ceylonese traditions, Aśoka Maurya had sent out missions to the following countries.

Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahiṣamandala (Mysore), Vanavasi (North Kinnara), Apārānta (coast north of Bombay), Mahārāṣṭra (west central India), Yona region (N. W. F. provinces), Himavanta (Himalaya region), Suvarṇabhūmi (Pegu and Moulmein) and Lankā (Ceylon). (See V. Smith, *Asoka*, 2nd ed. p. 44).

Let us compare this list with the list that we find in XIII rock edict. There in his own dominions the following are men-

tioned:— Yavana, Kamboja, Nabhaka, Nabhampati, Bhoja, Pitinika Andhra and Pulinda. North to his dominions are mentioned Antiochus and the four Hellenistic kings and to the south are mentioned Pāndya, Cola and Tamraparni.

This shows that the traditional list omits (1) the Hellenistic kings and (2) the Tamil kingdoms, while the edicts omit Himavanta, Suvarnabhumi and Laṅkā. This change could not have been accidental.

Vincent Smith has, thus, explained the absence of the Hellenistic kings from the traditional list (2nd ed. p. 44).

"The exclusion of the Hellenistic kingdoms from the Ceylon list is easily explained, when we remember that those kingdoms had ceased to exist centuries before that list was compiled." But I do not see how the explanation is so easy. Was the actual list handed down by tradition or was it made up centuries after the Hellenistic kingdoms had been extinct? Or, shall we say that, because in the age in which the lists were compiled the Hellenistic kingdoms had ceased to exist and therefore though their names were handed down by traditions, the compilers dropped their names from the lists?

Again in the Ceylonese list of missions, the Tamil kingdoms are omitted and the reason for their omission as given by Vincent Smith is very funny (p. 140-1). "The omission of the Tamil countries of the Southern India may be ascribed to the secular hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of the mainland, which, naturally would indispose the oppressed Sinhalese to recognise the ancestors of their oppressors as having been brothers in faith". I shall not quote more. The explanation is neither natural nor rational. It means that though the traditionally handed down lists contained the names of these Tamil kingdoms yet the Ceylonese priests omitted them for not acknowledging the ancient Pāndyas and Colas as their brothers in faith. But may we ask, how, by omission of the names of these Tamil kingdoms, was the sense of retaliation or the sense of pride and dignity of the Ceylonese satisfied? The whole explanation is half-hearted, unnatural and unconvincing.

The most simple explanation can be this that Aśoka Maurya had not sent missions to the Hellenistic kingdoms (not because

they had ceased to exist centuries before, but because they were yet to come centuries later) and the Tamil lands. It only means that the author of XIII rock edict was not Aśoka Maurya. The omission of the Himalaya region and the regions of greater India and Ceylon in the rock edict also shows the same thing that these lists refer to two distinct monarchs. In fact, one is a list of missionaries sent out for the propagation of Buddhist religion (as the Ceylonese tradition avers) and the other is a list sent out for the propagation of a religion which was anything but Buddhist. Now what I ask is this. Is it possible that one and the same king would send out missions to the same countries once for the propagation of one religion and then for the propagation of another religion which had nothing in common with the first religion. It sounds absurd. If both these lists refer to Aśoka Maurya, we come to an absurd position. It would only mean that Aśoka Maurya did not know his own mind and was a greatly vacillating man, once propagating one religion and next propagating another religion. But he was not a vacillating man; the traditions unanimously make him a consistently staunch Buddhist. Therefore, the conclusion becomes inevitable that these lists refer to two distinct kings. And, if the Ceylonese list refers to Aśoka Maurya, as it surely must, then the list in XIII rock edict does not refer to him.

Thus on the one hand, we find that there are many insurmountable difficulties if we ascribe the inscriptions of the first Group (i. e. the principal ones) to Aśoka Maurya, on the other hand we find that there are some very clear indications to refer them to Samudragupta.

(1) If we compare the Puranic passages describing Viśvasphani (—Samudragupta), the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta and these Piyadasi inscriptions of the first group (made by me), we find the same personality reflected in all the three. The Purāṇas, as we have seen, divide the life of Viśvasphani in two distinct periods—one of ruthless aggression and the other of modest religious piety. The Allahabad Inscription, curiously enough, divides the whole description of Samudragupta into two parts—one depicting him as a ruthless warrior and the other as a man of accomplishments and above all as a man of highest religious attainments. And these Piyadasi inscriptions also speak of the first eight years

of ruthless period of the emperor's life and of a later period of piety and tranquility. Thus we find that all the three sources speak of a personality which presents two extremes of ruthlessness and religiousness.

From the traditions, we know that Asoka Maurya was an extremely pious man, but no tradition tells us of his accomplishments as a great conqueror, much less of his ruthless aggression. Samudragupta, on the other hand, we know both from the Allahabad inscription and from the Purāṇas (as also from MMK and Jayswal's estimation of his character) did combine both the above extremes in him. And these Piyadasi inscriptions also speak of the two extremes: therefore these inscriptions of the first group can well belong to Samudragupta.

(2) We have, earlier seen how in Āryāvarta proper i. e. in his home provinces Samudragupta had put kings of his own tribes which were a-Brahmanic. And here in rock edict XIII also out of the kings of his home provinces, Yavanas, Kambojas, Nabhakas and Pulindas are definitely a-Brahmanic. This also links up the edicts with Samudragupta.

(3) That these Piyadasi inscriptions belong to a Gupta king is indicated from the Queen's Pillar Edict. This edict was inscribed by the order of the second queen Kaluvāki (= Kāruvaki or Cāruvāki) who was the mother of a prince named Tivara or Tivara. Now I think that this name in all likelihood is of a Gupta prince.

We learn from Sanjam plates of Amoghavarṣa, son of Govinda III (Ep. Ind. XVIII, p. 240 and 245 and also XIII, p. 253) that there was a Somavansi dynasty of Sripura or Sirpur in southern Kosala. In that dynasty there was a king named Tivaradeva, whose full name was Mahāsivagupta Tivaradeva. This Tivara was the elder brother of Candragupta and uncle of Harṣagupta. He ruled in c. 750 A. D.

These Gupta-endings of the name and the whole names Candragupta and Harṣagupta, suggest that this Tivaradeva belonged to a Gupta family. The name Tivara is peculiar and looks foreign and as the same is found in the Queen's edict, Tivara of that edict also might have been a Gupta. This is only tentative, but if so this Kaluvāki was the second queen of Samudragupta and not of

Asoka Maurya. We should not forget that this Queen's edict is inscribed on the same pillar on which Hariṣena's praśasti of Samudragupta is engraved.

(4) We cannot say that because the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta is in Sanskrit and these Piyadasi inscriptions are in Prakrit, they cannot belong to Samudragupta, for:- (1) Samudragupta being a kavirāja, knew quite well Prakrits and Apabhramśas. Therefore he could have used Prakrit. (2) The Queen's edict is in Prakrit and that edict as I have suggested probably belongs to Samudragupta's queen. (3) Though we do not possess any Prakrit inscription of Samudragupta, there is an inscription which reads *Idaguttassa*, which can only be restored to Samudragupta. And even otherwise, there is nothing wrong if we say that for public proclamations, which were intended as orders or instructions to general masses (as the Piyadasi inscriptions, avowedly, are) he had used Prakrit dialects and for his official record (the Allahabad Inscription) he had used Sanskrit.

(5) And finally, I wish to point out that not only Samudragupta had emulated Asoka Maurya, but he seems to have adopted the title of *Aśokāditya* as well. *Kaliyugarājavyūttānta*, as quoted by Kṛṣṇanāmačariar clearly states that Samudragupta had the title *Aśokāditya*.

But we have not to depend on *Kaliyugarājavyūttānta* only for this. I find that even *Kālidāsa* suggests very loudly that Samudragupta had the title *Aśokāditya*. I have shown elsewhere¹, that *Kālidāsa*, in his various works has, not only sung the glories of the Guptas, but has made covert references to the Gupta kings. There, I have shown that in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Kālidāsa* has taken *Agnimitra* to represent Samudragupta and *Mālavika* to represent *Dattadevi*. I have actually shown how *Kālidāsa* has used the name *Dattadevi* punningly for *Mālavikā* and how immediately after that pun *Agnimitra* is compared to *Samudra (gupta)*.

There, I have already drawn attention to a peculiar feature of *Kālidāsa's* similes. I have shown that in *Vikramorvaṣīya*, because he wishes to suggest the identity of *Chandragupta II*, he has, in the 3rd act depicted the scene of *Candrapāja* and has used the

1. See, *Kālidāsa and the Guptas* in the Annual Report for 1944-45 Gujarati Sahitya Sabha: Ahmedabad.

upamāna of candra repeatedly. In Raghuvamśa, because he wants to suggest the identity of Skandagupta, he has used the upamāna Kumāra or Skanda repeatedly. Read in the same context, it will be found that Kālidāsa uses, in Mālavikāgnimitra, the upamāna Aśoka (for Agnimitra, by whom he has suggested Samudragupta) repeatedly.

Fulfilment of the dōhādā of Aśoka is a very important incident in the final stage of the play. I suggest that under the garb of the Aśoka tree, the poet wishes to suggest the fulfilment of the desire of the hero (both the expressed hero Agnimitra and the suggested hero Samudragupta alias Aśokāliya). I have already shown how Mālavikā is taken to represent Dattadevi and Agnimitra to represent Samudragupta. Read in the same connection, it will be seen that when Mālavikā is asked to fulfil the desire of Aśoka, it becomes doubly true, for she fulfils the desire of the tree Aśoka as well as the king Aśoka. There are many expressions in the text, where there are clear puns upon the word Aśoka. I shall here, mention two or three most outstanding instances.

(1) When the king sees Mālavikā for the first time engaged in her mission, he asks Vidūṣaka, कथमशोकदोहदनिमित्तोऽयमारम्भः and Vidūṣaka's reply is peculiar. He says

किं नु खलु जानासि त्वम् मम कारणाश्रयेवीमामन्तःपुरेनेष्वयेन योजयिष्यतीति ।

Apparently it is a dig at the king, but to the contemporary court audience, who knew Kālidāsa had already suggested Dattadevi and Samudragupta through the heroine and the hero of the play, who further knew that Samudragupta bore the title Aśoka, it will be at once, plain that the king probably took the word Tapaniyāśoka, mentioned earlier in the text to refer to himself and Vidūṣaka here dispels that doubt. Such a pun is still clearer in the following.

(2) When Mālavikā is ready to kick the tree, with her leg decorated and painted, Bakulāvalikā says to her,

इहा उत्तिष्ठ अशोकविभ्रमपितृकं देव्या नियोगमनुतिष्ठ

and then

एष उपाख्यरागः उपभोगक्षमः पुरस्ते वर्तते.

And Mālavikā mistaking Aśoka to refer to the king exclaims किं भर्ता, and it is then, that the maid removes her doubt by saying,

न तावद्भर्ता एषोऽशोकशाखावन्मन्वी पद्मवृक्षः

Here bhartā i. e. the king is very clearly misunderstood for Aśoka and that can happen particularly when the king bore the name Aśoka.

(3) Irāvati, when angry says in a huff

पूर्य पूर्य अशोकः कुसुमं न दर्शयति अयं पुनः पुष्पत्येव

Here, too, the sense is 'the tree Aśoka will not flower, but this Aśoka (the king) will certainly favour you.'

Instances such as these, when read in the whole context of my paper already mentioned, leave no doubt that Kālidāsa has taken Aśoka to be another name of the person who is suggested through Agnimitra and I have already said that Samudragupta is suggested through Agnimitra.

And at the end, in this connection, I wish to draw attention to the expression of tapaniyāśoka used so often by Kālidāsa in this play. Throughout the play the Aśoka which is to be kicked is called tapaniyāśoka. Now tapaniyāśoka seems to have been a rare variety of Aśoka and as such might have been prized much. But in the whole context of my theory, the words tapaniyāśoka may be taken in two senses. (1) tapana is the sun i. e. aditya and therefore Tapaniyāśoka may mean Aśokāditya (2) तपनीय means gold (Suvarṇa) and su+varṇa may be translated as priya (su)+darśi (varṇa) and thus the whole expression may mean Priyadarśi Aśoka.

But apart from the question whether Samudragupta bore the title of Aśoka or not, I have tried to show here, that the Piyāsi inscriptions of the first group can belong to Samudragupta and we should remember in this connection that it is only in one of the copies (at Maski) of the minor (not principal) rock edicts that the name Aśoka is found.

At the end of this whole discussion I wish to say this that in view of the above discussion the question of the authorship of these Piyāsi inscriptions should not stand in the way of our conclusion that it was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and not Chandragupta Maurya, who was the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GUPTA ERA

BUT in spite of all that I have said so far, it can still be argued, as the most formidable objection to my scheme of chronology, that all this goes against the start of the Gupta Era. Scholars today put the start of the Gupta Era in 319-20 A. D. and this they do on the authority of Al Beruni, who says that the Gupta Era was removed by 241 years from Sakakāla. Thus we get $241 + 78 = 319$ A. D. as the initial date of G. E. (Gupta Era). This evidence and the evidence marshalled by Fleet and others in support of this date for G. E. looks so conclusive that to doubt it would be to show one's own folly. And yet almost from the start to this day, scholars have disagreed and put forward various dates as the starting point of G. E. Thus 167 A. D. (Cunningham), 272-73 A. D. (Pai), 200 A. D. (Sharma, Shah) 57 B. C. (Mookerji) are the dates put forward for the start of G. E. We should, therefore, in all fairness examine the question. I do not propose to go into the history of these various theories. I shall, here, confine myself to a mere statement of arguments in support of my date of G. E.

In the earlier part of this work, I have put the accession of Chandragupta, I. in c. 329 B. C. Now what I think is this. 329 B. C. is the date of Chandragupta I's first accession to the throne, after he defeated and killed Sundravarman. Then he ruled for some years, was defeated and ousted away by Kalyāṇavarman, lived in exile for some years and then was reinstated on the throne by Samudragupta. This reinstatement I think occurred somewhere between 312-310 B. C. and it is with this date of Chandragupta I's reinstatement that the Imperial Gupta era started. This date I think is supported by the following considerations.

Al Beruni says:—"the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Vallabhi era, 241 years later than Sakakāla." (Al Beruni's India, Sachau, II p. 7). Our modern scholars take their stand on

this statement of Al Beruni and put the start of G.E. in $241 + 78 = 319$ or 320 A. D. But this sentence of Al Beruni means that G. E. as well as Vallabha Era fell 241 years later than Sakakāla. Strictly, therefore, we should take two distinct eras (one called the Gupta Era and the other called the Vallabha Era) to have started in the same year viz 319 A. D. But then did these two eras start in one and the same year—319 A. D.?

If the statement of Al Beruni is read properly it becomes clear that he has compared the beginning of G.E. with the beginning of Vallabha Era and according to him both the eras started 241 years later than Saka kāla. We generally consider Saka kāla to be the Śālivāhana Era of 78 A. D. But earlier in this work I have shown that there was an earlier Saka Era, that it has been used by the western Kṣatrapas in their documents and that that Saka Era started in c. 552 B. C. I, therefore, suggest that G. E. had started 241 years later than this Sakakāla, i. e. in c. 312 to 310 B. C. Therefore it was in 312-10 B. C. that Chandragupta I was reinstated. He, then ruled for some years and then Samudragupta succeeded him. I would put Samudragupta's acc. in c. 307-5 B. C. It is said that Seleucos invaded Indian border between 304 and 302 B. C. Thus at the time when Seleucos crossed the Indian border, Ch I (Xandrames) had just died and Samudragupta (Sandrocottus) had just come to the throne. Plutarch's phrase, "by that time" would suggest that Sandrocottus had come to the throne recently, when Seleucos invaded the Indian border. As I have suggested earlier it was Samudragupta, who by his prowess had reconquered his father's lost dominions and reinstated him on the throne in c. 312-310 B. C. By about 303 B. C., when Seleucos invaded, the Gupta power must have been well consolidated and therefore it must not have been difficult for Samudragupta to have defeated Seleucos.

Thus I put the start of G. E. in c. 312-10 B. C. and I explain the statement of Al Beruni as I have done above. I shall point out that the date arrived at by me for G. E. viz 312-10 B. C. is also supported by a mass of other evidence, which I shall, now, describe.

(1) Purāṇas have given the time of the beginning of the Gupta power in the clearest terms possible. While describing Viśvaṣphaṇi the Magadha king and the dynasties which just preceded

him, the Purāṇas say that all these dynasties (which preceded Viśvasphaṭi) will rule āmanuṣṣayāt. This expression can only mean "upto the end of Manvantara." Pargiter translates this by 'till the termination of the Manus' or by 'as long as Manu's race.' But the Puranic context can accept only one translation of this phrase and that is "upto the end of the Manvantara." Now I have shown earlier that one Manvantara was taken as closed and a new Manvantara was taken as started with Parikṣit. Taking a Manvantara to have 71 caturyugas according to the usual formula and equating caturyuga with 40 years, I have said that $71 \times 40 = 2,840$ years had passed from Manu Vaivasvata to Parikṣit; and that Manvantara of 2,840 years was taken as closed with the end of the 71st king-name represented by Abhimanyu. Now, the new Manvantara started with the accession of Parikṣit will naturally, close after 71 king-units i. e. after $71 \times 40 = 2,840$ years. I have put Parikṣit's acc. in 3136 B. C. Therefore this new Manvantara will close in $3136 - 2840 = 296$ B. C. And I have put Samudragupta's acc in c. 307-5 B. C. He ruled for about 50 years. Therefore Viśvasphaṭi who is described as just ruling after manuṣṣaya or the end of the Manvantara, was none else than Samudragupta who ruled for about 40 years after manuṣṣaya. Thus, according to the Purāṇas the start of the Guptas has to be put in about 296 B. C. and I have put it in c. 312-10 B. C.

(2) Just as the above Manvantara calculation puts the start of the Guptas in c. 300 B. C., the following calculation based upon Saptarṣi Era also shows the same period for the Guptas. This is a very ancient Indian era and I have later given a separate chapter for considering the different problems connected with that era. It is an era, in which Saptarṣis are supposed to be conjoined with each of the 27 Nakṣatras for 100 years. Thus this era has a cycle of 2700 years.

Now in our extant Purāṇas we find the following lines. I quote them as they are printed by Pargiter.

(i) सप्तर्षयस्तदा प्राबु
प्रदीप्तेनाग्निना समाः
सप्तविंशतिमाश्वानाम्
अन्ध्रान्तेऽन्वगात् पुनः

(ii) सप्तर्षयस्तदा प्राहुः
प्रतीपे रात्रि वै शतम्
सप्तविंशैः शतैर्माश्वैः
अन्ध्रान्तेऽन्वगाः पुनः।

- (iii) सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ता काले पारिक्षिते शतम् ।
अध्रान्ते तु चतुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शतं समा :

Vg.

Re.

ते तु पारिक्षिते काले
मघास्वासन्दिजोत्तमा :

(iv) ते त्वदीये द्विजाः काले
अयुना चाश्रिता मघाः ।

These passages seem to contain the following four different statements,

(i) Then, at the end of the Āndhras, the Saptarṣis, brilliant like a lighted fire, once again, reached the 27th century.

(ii) Then the Saptarṣis were in a century in the days of Pratipa; they, once again, reached the 27th century at the end of the Āndhras.

(iii) In the days of Parikṣit, Saptarṣis were in the century of Maghā. At the end of the Āndhras they will be in the 24th century (?).

(iv) Saptarṣis were in Maghā in your days as they are in Maghā now.

These statements seem confused because the texts have been confused. Pargiter has proposed to emend *prāṇsu* to *Puṣya* and then he says that Saptarṣis were in *Puṣya* in the days of Pratipa and then again at the end of the Āndhras they were in *Puṣya*. Thus he puts 2,700 years between Pratipa and Āndhra end. But there are objections in doing so. Firstly, there is no sanction for emending the text to *Puṣya*. Secondly, having done so, there is no sanction to connect *Puṣya* with Pratipa, for the text which contains the word *prāṇsu* (which is emended to *Puṣya*) does not contain the word Pratipa. Thirdly, having taken Saptarṣis to have been in *Puṣya* in the days of Pratipa, Pargiter takes 814 years to have elapsed from Pratipa to Parikṣit (i.e. for seven generations) (DKA p. 75 fn 4). This is evidently incorrect. Puranic texts are clear that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Parikṣit. Therefore, if they were in *Puṣya* in the days of Pratipa hardly 200 years should have elapsed between Pratipa and Parikṣit, because Maghā is removed from *Puṣya* only by one Nakṣatra viz *Āśleṣā*. And Pargiter himself at another place (p. 59 fn 41) takes 150 years to have elapsed between Pratipa and Parikṣit. Thus, Pargiter's emendation is unwarranted and his explanation on p. 75 incorrect.

I shall, therefore explain what these four Puranic statements mean. Taking (1) and (4) together, I think that what the Purāṇas mean is that from Parikṣit to Āndhra-end, a Saptarṣi cycle had been completed. (1) Simply says that the cycle was completed at the Āndhra-end. What the beginning was is not stated there, but it is apparent that the start is from Parikṣit, as all the post-Mbā calculations start with him. (4) is absolutely clear on the point. It says that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in your (Parikṣit's) time and are in Maghā now i. e. at the end of the Āndhras, as the Purāṇas close at that period. I therefore, take a cycle of 2,700 years having been completed from Parikṣit to Āndhra-end. (3) as it is quoted above seems to mean that 2400 years had elapsed from Parikṣit to Āndhra-end. But the printed edition of Brahmagṛha reads the second line differently thus—*andhrāṇṣe sacaturviṃṣe* etc.¹ This may mean that Saptarṣis will enter Maghā in the reign of the 24th king in the end of the Āndhra period. If so, it would mean that Saptarṣis entered Maghā in the days of Parikṣit and again they, entered Maghā in the days of the 24th Āndhra.

In Part Four of this book, I have shown, that in their retrograde motion Saptarṣis were taken to have been in Maghā from 3176 B. C. to 3076 B. C. Therefore, Āndhra end will be placed in 476 B. C. —376 B. C. It may also mean that the 24th Āndhra is to be placed in c. 476 B. C. and actual end of the Āndhras in c. 376 B. C. And it will be remembered that I have put the end of the main Āndhras in 380 B. C.

If the above considerations are acceptable then it will follow that the Guptas, who followed the Āndhras, came soon after 376

1. But in the above discussion I have relied on Pargiter's text. I quote below from the five printed Purāṇas:

ते त्वदीये द्विजाः काले अमुना चाश्रिताः मघाः॥ Bg XII, ii, 28; Vn, iv, 24, 106.

सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ताः (यथायुक्ताः Bd) काले पारीक्षिते शतम्।

अन्ध्रांशे सत्तुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शते समाः॥ Bd, II, 24, 234; Vy, 37, 419.

सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ताः काले पारीक्षिते शतम्।

ब्राह्मणस्तु सत्तुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शते समाः॥ Mt, 272, 43.

This shows that all the five Purāṇas have a statement saying that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Parikṣit and they will again be in the same century or Nakṣatra in the days of the Āndhras, most probably in the days of the 24th Āndhra.

B. C. and I put the start of the Gupta Era in c. 312-10 B. C. I, therefore, claim that these considerations based on Saptarṣi Era, support my date for the Guptas.

In the chapter on Saptarṣi Era, [Part Four of this book] I have shown that one cycle of Saptarṣi Era of 2700 years (plus a 100 years) was completed from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of the unit of Yudhiṣṭhira. Here we find that one cycle of 2,700 years was completed from Parikṣit to the end of the Āndhras. In between, we have to add 100 years for the retrograde motion in Maghā as is suggested by me. Thus we get $2800+100+2700 = 5,600$ years from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of the Āndhras. I have put Manu Vaivasvata in 5976 B. C. when Saptarṣis were taken to have entered Maghā. Then the Saptarṣis reached the end of Maghā i. e. (one cycle plus one Nakṣatra i. e. 2800 years) at the death of Yudhiṣṭhira. Thus we get 2,800 years from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of Yudhiṣṭhira. Then for 100 years Saptarṣis are taken to be retracing through Maghā. Thus the Saptarṣis started retracing through Maghā in $(5976-2800=)$ 3176 B. C. Therefore they will once again enter Maghā after 2,700 years i. e. in $3176-2700=476$ B. C. at the end of the Āndhras. Āndhra end is put in the century of Maghā i. e. from 476 B. C. to 376. And that is exactly what we have found above.

(3) Scholars have now practically agreed that the story of Raww'al and Barkamaris, given in Majmal-ul-tawar'ikh refers to Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya. Now in that story the genealogy of Barkamaris is given as under.

Kafand¹

|

Ayand

|

Rasal

|

Rawwal	Barkamaris.
(Ramagupta)	(Ch II)

Now this story very clearly says (History of India, Elliot Vol I, p. 108) that Kafand was a contemporary of Alexander the

1. A brother of Kafand is named as Samid in the story.

Great. In the above genealogy, Ch II is removed from Kafand i. e. from Alexander by three generations. That is Ch II is removed from 325 B. C. by three generations. And I put Ch II's acc in c. 247-5 B. C.

But it may be urged that there are some points in this story which do not tally with Gupta history. For instance, it may be said that this story gives 3 ancestors of Ch II, while the Gupta inscriptions give four ancestors of Ch II. Then again the life-incidents of Kafand are not such as are likely to have happened in the life of Srigupta the founder of the Gupta line. I shall answer these objections, though I shall not enter into details. I think that as in other bardic stories so here also, exploits of one king are ascribed to another king. Such transpositions are quite familiar to one who has studied bardic historical accounts. I, therefore, suggest as under:

(i) The life-incidents of Kafand and Samid as described in the story should refer to the life incidents of Rasal and Samid.

(ii) Samid who is taken as a brother of Kafand in the story should be taken as the son of Rasal.

If we accept these two suggestions, we get the following genealogy.

Kafand

|

Ayand

|

Rasal

|

Samid

|

Rawwa'l

Barkamaris

In this case, we can equate Samid with Samudragupta, Rasal with Ch I, Ayand with Ghatotkaca and Kafand with Gupta or Srigupta. And this would be faithful to the Gupta genealogy as is

1. The reason for the transposition may be as under. These incidents belonged to the lives of Ch I and Samudragupta who were the first two Gupta emperors. But the genealogy showed Gupta (Kafand) to be the first Gupta. This was probably responsible for the transposition.

given in the Gupta inscriptions. Kafand may equate with Gupta thus—Gupta—Gupat—Gufat—Gufad—Kafad—Kafand. The variant of Kafand is Kaid in *Shālināmāh*. Kaid may equate with Gutta the Prakrit form of Gupta. The only mistake is that the life-incidents of Rasal and Samid (who were father and son) are transferred to Kafand and Samid (and they are made brothers). Such transpositions¹ are seen in bardic accounts. If therefore we take the life-incidents of Kafand and Samid to refer to Rasal and Samid, they will tally well with the reconstruction of the lives of Ch I and Samudragupta, which has been suggested by me in the section on the Greek Evidence.

The important point, however, to be remembered is that the story expressly calls Kafand (and if we accept my suggestion of ascribing the exploits of Kafand to Rasal, then Rasal=Ch I) to have been a contemporary of Alexander. Barkamaris, whom our modern scholars agree in equating with Ch II Vikramaditya is removed only by three degrees from Kafand. Therefore, the evidence of this story almost conclusively proves that the Guptas started their career immediately after Alexander and that is exactly what I am trying to show in this volume.

(4) The following passage from Heiun Tsang is worth considering (Watters II p. 164.)

"Here (i. e. at Nālandā), soon after the decease of the Buddha, Sakraditya, a former king of this country, esteeming one vehicle and reverencing the three Precious Ones, built a monastery. The king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work to the south of this monastery built another one; to the east of this king Tathagata Gupta built a third monastery, and to the north-east of this king Bālāditya added a fourth..... To the west of this monastery Bālāditya's son and successor Vajra built another, and to the north of this a king of Mid India afterwards created a large monastery."

Here we are told of some kings, whose names are taken to correspond with the names of certain Gupta kings. Particularly, Sakraditya is taken to be Kumāragupta I or II. Now this statement records that these kings came *soon after* the death of Buddha. Scholars generally put Buddha's death in the 6th century B. C. and put these Gupta kings in the 5th century A. D. In that case how

can we explain this statement that these kings came soon after Buddha's death? But, we have earlier seen that in the days of Hsien Tsang various dates about Buddha's death were current, latest of them being 243 B. C. Now according to my scheme of chronology, Kumāragupta I will be placed from c. 209 B. C. to 167 B. C. In that case the above statement of the Chinese pilgrim can be well explained. This statement, therefore, lends support to my scheme of chronology for the Guptas.

(5) Hsien Tsang says, "Some centuries previously a king named Mo-hi-lo-ku-lo (Mihirakula) ruled over this city (Sakala)." (Watters, I, p. 288-90).

According to the present chronology Mihirakula is placed in c. 529 A. D. In that case, the words 'some centuries previously' can, by no stretch of imagination, be explained, as the distance between Mihirakula and the Chinese pilgrim will hardly be of one century. But according to my scheme, the Guptas had ended in c. 90 B. C. Therefore, Mihirakula, who was defeated by the last Imperial Gupta would be placed in c. 90 B. C. This date of Mihirakula can very well be described as some centuries earlier.

(6) According to Jain Harivaṃśa Gupta rule had started 727 years after the death of Mahāvira. The generally accepted date of Mahāvira's death is 528 B. C. According to this date the Guptas will start in $727-528=199$ A. D. which goes against the current dates for the Guptas. In the table (given in Part Two) about the various dates of Mahāvira's death, the latest date is 228 B. C. According to this date the Guptas will start in $727-228=499$ A. D., which, too, goes against the current chronology of the Guptas. But in my table, there is a date 1048 B. C. for Mahāvira's death. According to that date the start of the Guptas will be placed from $1048-727=321$ B. C. And I have taken the Guptas to have started in c. 329 B. C. Thus this tradition, preserved in Jain Harivaṃśa practically supports my dates for the Guptas.

(7) If we start the Guptas from 329 B. C. as I do, we find some corroboration of that date from Kashmir history also. According to the Kashmir chronology as reconstructed by me earlier in this volume, Pratāpāditya, who followed Blind Yudhiṣṭhira, came to the throne in 240 B. C. This Pratāpāditya is expressly called by Kalhaṇa to be a relative of Vikramāditya and Kalhaṇa emphatically says that this Vikramāditya was not

śakāri i. e. was not the founder of the era of 36 B. C. I identify this Vikramāditya with Ch II who, according to my scheme, ruled from c. 247—5 B. C. This synchronism thus upholds my chronology.

(8) Students of Arthasāstra of Cāṇakya have felt that in some important respects Arthasāstra defers from the practices described by Megasthenes (See Mauryan Polity by Dikshitar). So far, only half-hearted and circuitous methods have been employed to explain away these disagreements. But now the explanation becomes simple. Megasthenes was not a contemporary of Cāṇakya or Ch Maurya but of Ch I and Samudragupta and therefore we need not be surprised at the disagreement between the two. The agreement between the two, also, need not surprise us for many of the practices current in the days of the Mauryas are likely to have been followed in the days of the Guptas also.

(9) Pliny (VI, 21, 22, 23) says that at the time of Alexander's invasion Andhras "were reputed to possess a military force second only to that of the command of the king of the Prasii. The Andhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants."

Now, I think, that this description of Andhra power cannot agree with Sandrocottus' identification with Chandragupta Maurya. When are the Andhras likely to have been, in point of military power only second to Magadha? Surely not in the days of the Mauryas. According to the unanimous statements of the Purāṇas, Andhras rose to power after the Kāvyas. Even according to Vincent Smith Simuka rose to power in c. 220 B. C. i. e. full 100 years after the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Andhras, therefore, must have been political non-entities in the days of the Mauryas. It is however likely that as petty local chiefs some Andhra families might have existed in the days of the Mauryas and even earlier, but the descriptions of their power as given in the above passage can simply not apply to these petty Andhra chiefs. But it can very well apply to the days of Samudragupta and Ch I. In the days of Chandragupta I, the mighty Andhras had just gone down. Before the rise of the Guptas, Andhras were very powerful. In fact, according to the Purāṇas, Andhras were the Imperial rulers, who just preceded the Guptas. It was almost on the ashes of the Andhra empire, that the Guptas built up their empire. And yet the recently

fallen power—the Andhras would be only next to the Guptas in point of military strength. Therefore the above statement of the Greek writer about the military power of the Andhras makes it clear that he was not a contemporary of the Mauryas, but of the Guptas. That is the Guptas started in about 300 B. C.

(10) Strabo says that according to Megasthenes "the king in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothras, as Sandrocottus, for instance, did." (Macrinde, *Ancient India*, Strabo, 1901, p. 43). I do not think so far any scholar has attempted an explanation of this. This statement gives two details, (1) the king should adopt his family name and (2) in addition to that he must adopt the surname of Palibothras. Now the family name Maurya is not known to have been adopted by Mauryas. Of course, all of them could be called Mauryas, but Strabo says that they adopted the family name i. e. the family name will be a part of the personal name; and though today we call Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka Maurya, yet in the ancient literature we do not find so. But in the case of the Guptas, we know that every king attached the family name Gupta as a part of his personal name.

Moreover, Strabo says that king should adopt the surname of Palibothras. This only means that the king should be known as Pāṭaliputraka meaning so and so of Pāṭaliputra. The practice of distinguishing personal name of kings by the name of their capitals is found in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta when it says,

कौसलकमहेन्द्र महाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज कैरालकमण्डराज पृष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरि कौटरक स्वामिदत्त etc.

Again, the Udayagiri cave inscription of Ch II of G. E. 82 describes the minister Sāba as Pāṭaliputraka (l. 4).

This shows that what Megasthenes says is that the king was known as the king of a particular country or of a particular capital city. Thus Samudragupta will be called Pāṭaliputraka Samudragupta. The practice may have arisen for distinguishing between the kings of the same name ruling at the same time in different countries. This practice might have obtained in the days of the Mauryas also, but that it did obtain in the days of Samudragupta is proved from his own inscription. This also may be taken to lend support to indicate contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Megasthenes.

(11) Firdausi in his *Shahnameh*, while describing the rule of Behram Gur, the Sassanian king, says that the king of Kanauj, with the seven kings of Sind, Hind etc. was submissive to the Iranian emperor. This means that Behram Gur's authority extended upto Kanauj. Now the time of Behram Gur is put by scholars from c. 420-40 A.D. According to the current chronology, from 420-40 A.D. in India was ruling Kumāragupta I, and it is a fact acknowledged by all and attested by numismatic and epigraphic evidence that in the days of Kumāragupta I and even of Skandagupta, the Gupta empire had maintained its imperial character. Therefore in 420-40 A.D. Kanauj and other provinces named by Firdausi should have been under Kumāragupta I and not under Behram Gur. Therefore if the current chronology is accepted, we should either take Firdausi's account to be incorrect or the date of Behram Gur as incorrect. But we shall have to do neither, if we put the Guptas in c. 300 B.C.

(12) Greek writers talk of several embassies sent by Indian kings to Roman emperors. I shall quote these passages here.¹

Strabo: (p. 77-8) "This writer (Nikolaos Damaskenos, a contemporary of Emperor Augustus) says that at Antioch by Daphne he met with Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Caesar (c. 21 B.C.)The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Poros was the writer, and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Caesar's friend, and was willing to grant him passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise."

Several other writers confirm this embassy e.g. Suetonius, Florus Orsius, Dion Cassius.

Eusebios Pamphili (born 264 A.D. d. 340 A.D.) says, (p. 214). "Ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents..... which they presented to the king (Constantine the Great d. 337 A.D.) as an acknowledgement that his sovereignty extended to their ocean. They told him, too, how the Princes of India had dedicated pictures and statues in his honour in token that they recognised him as their autocrat and king." (MacGrindle notes

1. Quoted from *'Ancient India as described by Herodotus and others'* by MacGrindle, 1901.

that this embassy reached Constantinople in the last year of the emperor Constantine the Great i. e. in 336-37 A. D.

Ammianus Marcellinus (a native of Antioch in Syria, was living in 390 A. D. p. 93) says, "Embassies from all quarters flocked to him (the Emperor Julian in 361 A. D.), the Indian nations vying with emulous zeal in sending their foremost men, with presents as far as from Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (Ceylon)."

Sextus Aurellius Victor (c. 352-80 A. D.). "Yea, even the Indians, Bactrians, Hyrkanians sent ambassadors, having acknowledged of the justice of a prince so mighty (the Emperor Julian)."

Joannes Malada: "At the same time (530 A. D.) an ambassador of the Indians was sent to Constantinople."

These passages show that Indian kings in c. 21 B. C. and from c. 337-61 A. D. sent ambassadors to the Roman emperors. If we analyse these accounts, we find that the embassy sent to Augustus (c. 21 B. C.) was by a king of India who considered himself to be an equal of the Roman emperor, and in no way inferior to him. He himself was the overlord of 600 kings. But the embassies sent to Constantine and Julian seem to have been sent by Indian princes (there seems to have been no overlord then), who acknowledged the power of the Roman emperors. These embassies were sent from 336-367 A. D. Now these are precisely the years of the rule of the Great Samudragupta, according to the present day accepted chronology. If this chronology is correct, India in 336-67 A. D. was the most powerful country under Samudragupta, whose sphere of political superiority had extended upto the borders of Iran and practically the whole of India was under him. But the above evidence suggests a politically weak India (without any sovereign power) during these years. As in the case of Behram Gur, so here also there arises a conflict; and this can be removed if we put the rise of the Guptas in 300 B. C.

(13) Muni Kalyāṇavijayī has given a synopsis of a Therāvāli, called Himavanta Therāvāli. He has not obtained the original ms, but has given the synopsis from its Gujarati translation. The synopsis is published in Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Saḥā Patrikā (XI, 1, p. 7-ff). The synopsis clearly shows and it is as much admitted by Kalayānavijayī himself that in parts the Therāvāli is unreliable and there-

fore not genuine. It positively betrays the hand of a modern editor who seems to have made several silent emendations in the original text. And yet it contains a very curious statement to which I draw the attention of the scholars. It is said,

और निर्वाण से २३९ वर्ष बीतने पर मगधाधिपति अशोकने कलिङ्ग पर चढ़ाई की और वहाँ के राजा क्षेमराजको अपनी आड़ा मनाकर वहाँ अपना गुप्तसंवत्सर चलाया (p. 87)

According to this Aśoka conquered Kalinga in 239 M. E. (Mahāvīra Era) and forced the Kalinga king to use his Gupta Era. Now this statement is at once strange and unique. There is no other tradition (except the Piyadasi inscriptions) which has recorded the conquest of Kalinga by Aśoka. This is the only place where it is noted. Again, the Therāvāli says that Aśoka had conquered Kalinga in 239 M. E. Therāvāli puts Aśoka's acc. in 209 M. E. therefore, according to this Therāvāli, Aśoka had conquered Kalinga in his 30th regnal year. But the edict tells that Piyadasi had conquered Kalinga in his 8th regnal year. Thus, here, there is a conflict. But the most curious part of the statement is that Aśoka made his Gupta Era current in Kalinga. Aśoka Maurya, of whom the Therāvāli is talking at this place, can have nothing to do with the Gupta Era. It is a contradiction in terms to say that Maurya Aśoka had propagated his Gupta Era.

But, I think that, however, much the mutilation of the original Therāvāli has happened and however much confusion there might have been in the original Therāvāli itself, this seems to preserve some original genuine truth. This statement could not have been fabricated by any modern editor; for, which modern student of Indian history would purposely say that Aśoka Maurya had propagated Gupta Era? It is definitely not a fabrication for there is no purpose for such a fabrication. Therefore I take it that this statement is genuine though confused. But it does preserve the memory of a king named Aśoka who was connected with Gupta Era and who had conquered Kalinga. Now I have already said earlier that the Piyadasi inscriptions (the principal ones) belong to Samudragupta and it was he who had conquered Kalinga and he had adopted the title Aśokāditya. This statement of the Therāvāli supports the above position to the full. For, under the context, Aśoka of the Therāvāli can be no other than Samudragupta Aśoka. It is quite clear that the original author knew of the tradition that one Aśoka had conquered Kalinga and had introduced his era (i.e. Gupta Era)

there. But he not knowing the Gupta Aśoka had attributed the exploit to Maurya Aśoka. Thus this statement, to my mind, shows that (1) Samudragupta had the title Aśoka, (2) that this Samudragupta Aśoka had conquered Kalinga, (3) that his family era was Gupta Era (4) and that he was in the habit of getting his era introduced in the conquered countries.¹ It is true that much cannot be based on a book which is positively handled by a modern editor. But I put this before the scholars for whatever it is worth. If it is acceptable, it would mean that the author of the Piyadasi inscriptions who talks of Kalinga conquest was Samudragupta Aśoka; and therefore Samudragupta was a contemporary of the Hellenistic kings of the 3rd century B. C. Therefore the Guptas are to be placed in c. 300 B. C.

(14) There is one other line of argument which indicates the same period for the Guptas. The Besnagar Garuda-dhvaja Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus shows this:

(i) Bhāgavata-dharma was current in the 1st and 2nd century B. C. in Gwalior region as the Garuda-dhvaja was erected there.

(ii) The same religion was current near Taxila and even the Greeks adopted it as their religion, as is clear from Heliodorus being called an inhabitant of Taxila and being clearly described as a Bhāgavata in that inscription.

If we follow the current chronology the 2nd to 4th centuries B. C. are occupied by the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. Neither of these dynasties had adopted Vaiṣṇavism, much less Bhāgavatism as the religion. Both the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas are known to have adopted and propagated religions other than Vaiṣṇavism, and Bhāgavatism. How then was it that the Greeks adopted this religion in N. W. India in c. 125 B. C. — the date to which this inscription is ascribed? What grounds, apart from this inscription, have we to believe that Bhāgavatism was so flourishing and influential a religion in the days of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, so that even the foreigners took to it? Under the circumstances Heliodorus following Bhāgavatism in c. 125 B. C. is an isolated instance, not at all fitting in the known religious condition of India of those days.

1. Therefore it is likely if he had made Seleukos to accept his era,

On the other hand if we place the Guptas from 312 B. C. as I do and consider the main Piyadasi inscriptions to belong to Samudragupta and further the religion preached by Samudragupta in these inscriptions to be elementary Bhāgavatism, we can well explain this inscription of Heliódorus. That Bhāgavatism was adopted as their own religion by the Guptas is an acknowledged fact of history. According to me Samudragupta, by means of his edicts, had propagated this religion in the whole of India and in all the neighbouring countries, including the Yona regions. I place Samudragupta from c. 305 B. C. After him during the reigns of three or four successive Gupta Emperors Bhāgavatism had highly flourished in India. That is why in c. 125 B. C. we find a Greek describing himself as a Bhāgavata. Thus the phenomenon of Heliódorus taking to Bhāgavatism would be quite natural in the 2nd century B. C.

Consider along with this one other point. Heliódorus had erected a pillar with a Garuḍa-dhvaja. Garuḍa-dhvaja was the royal ensign of the Guptas. Neither the Mauryas nor the Śuṅgas are known to have Garuḍa-dhvaja as their flag. This may mean that the defeated Greeks had adopted the Bhāgavata religion as well as Garuḍa-dhvaja of the Guptas. The spread of Bhāgavatism in N. W. India and its adoption by a Greek in c. 125 B. C. together with the mention Garuḍa-dhvaja, to my mind, is only possible in Gupta or post-Gupta days.

In this connection, two more points may be noted here. King Bhāgabhadra mentioned in this inscription is usually identified by the scholars with the 6th or the 9th Śuṅga king. None of these kings is called Bhāgabhadra in any ms. of any Purāṇa. Sixth king is called Oḍraka etc. and the ninth king is called Bāga or Bhāgavata. In the inscription the king is not called Śuṅga. So that there is absolutely no evidence, other than a false synchronism created on the authority of the present-day chronology, to identify this Bhāgabhadra with any of the Śuṅga kings.

If Bhāgabhadra of this inscription is not a Śuṅga king, the date of Heliódorus may not be round about 125 B. C. Heliódorus was sent by the Greek king Antialcides. Scholars are not agreed about the date of this Antialcides. After this discovery of this inscription and after identifying Bhāgabhadra with a Śuṅga king, the scholars have taken this Antialcides to have flourished after

Eukratides. On the other hand, Von Sallet had said (CHI p. 554-6) that a coin of Antialcidas was restruck by Eukratides whose dates are from c. 175 B. C. to 162 B. C. Thus Antialcidas and therefore Heliodorus may be placed earlier than c. 175 B. C. If he is put, say in c. 200 B. C., the influence of the Gupta kings, with Bhāgavatism as their religion and with Garuḍa-dhvaja as their royal flag would be more living and strong and could be very well explained, for in c. 200 B. C. ruled, according to my scheme, Kumāragupta II.

(15) On Udaygiri Hills in Madhya Bharat there are several inscriptions. One of them as given by D. R. Patil in *Monuments of Udaygiri Hill* reprinted from the *Vikrama Bi Millennium celebration Volume* (English) p. 376-428, reads as under:

(1) नवो जीर्णोधारि (2) कन्ह प्रणमति (3) वीष्णुपादौ नित्यं । (4) संवत् १०९३ (5) चन्द्रगुप्तेन की (6) तंनं कीर्तितं (7) पश्चात् वीक (8) मादित्यराज्यं.

On this Mr. Patil writes: "The fourth inscription is in cave No 19. It records that a pilgrim named Kanha visited the cave in the year 1093 of the Vikrama Samvat (i. e. 1036 A. D.). The really interesting part of this record is the statement in lines 5-8 that the cave was made by Chandragupta and that the reign of Vikramaditya came after that event. The name of the king referred to in the inscription must certainly be taken to be that of the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II."

This very clearly states that Guptas ruled before Vikramāditya i. e. before 56 B. C.

(16) From *Kathāsaritsāgara* it is clear that in *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya, there was a story of Vikrama of Pātaliputra. Vikrama of Pātaliputra can only be Chandragupta II. Therefore this means that the Guptas lived before Guṇādhya i. e. 1st century A. D.

All this points to Guptas having ruled before Christian era and therefore my dates for the Guptas are likely to be true. But I, here, want to point out that though I have no positive evidence, yet it is likely that there are three different starting years of the Gupta Era. The Gupta Era started in 312-10 B. C. was the Imperial Gupta Era. Then, as Al Beruni has noted there is a tradition that the Gupta Era was started from the end of the Guptas. In an inscription the era is described as āguptāyikanam kālāḥ, which also will mean an era which goes upto the Guptas i. e. upto the

end (not the start) of the Guptas.¹ I have earlier suggested that Viṣṇuvardhana and Harṣa Vikrama are likely to have been taken as Guptabhṛtyas. Therefore, the era of 56 B. C., which we, now, call Vikrama Era is likely to be this āguptayikanām kalah. This era is referred to in Cāmundaśarāja's Inscription.²

Similarly, it is not impossible if the Gupta era was once more resuscitated in 319-20 A. D.

Thus the Gupta era seems to have three beginnings (1) 312-10 B. C., (2) 56 B. C., and (3) 319-20 A. D. The first of these was the original Era and the other two are resuscitated Gupta Eras.

1. This phrase is seen in the Gokkak plates of Dejjā Mahārāja, published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 21, p. 289-42. Mr. D. N. Mookerji has discussed these plates in *Journal of Indian History*, April 1939 pp. 94-98. Mr. Mookerji takes the era mentioned here as the same as Vikrama Era. He takes 'āguptayikanām' kalah' to mean era of those kings whose names ended in Gupta. I take this phrase to mean 'the era of the kings who go upto the Guptas' i. e. the era will start from the end of the Guptas.

2. See *Bharatiya Vidyā*, (Hindi-Gujarati) Vol I. In that inscription the era is named as Gauptha and is positively the same as Vikrama Era.

PART FOUR

Ch. One : The Yugas

Ch. Two : The Saptarsi Era

Ch. Three : Harsa Vikramaditya

Ch. Four : Pre-Mahabharata Ayodhya Dynasty

H. U. O. 2. T. 2. 4. 5.

CHAPTER ONE

THE YUGAS

HERE I shall consider the question of the various senses of the word yuga and the number of years given to each yuga in our ancient literature. Usually the Purāṇas give the years for different yugas both according to mānava and divya (360 mānava years = 1 divya year) measures thus:—

(1) *Mānava measure*

1728000 mānava years	= Kṛta Yuga
1296000 mānava years	= Tretā Yuga
864000 mānava years	= Dvāpara Yuga
432000 mānava years	= Kali Yuga

4320000 mānava years = Mahāyuga or Caturyuga

(2) *Divya measure*

	Sandhyā	Sandhyāñśa	
4800	(400 + 4000 + 400)	divya years	= Kṛta
3600	(300 + 3000 + 300)	divya years	= Tretā
2400	(200 + 2000 + 200)	divya years	= Dvāpara
1200	(100 + 1000 + 100)	divya years	= Kali

12000

divya years = mahāyuga
or caturyuga

It should be noted here that according to the general Purāṇic belief each yuga has 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 divya years respectively, but before and after the yuga proper there is an interim period, which is called sandhyā and sandhyāñśa respectively and which has as many hundreds of years as there are thousands in the yuga proper. Thus after the 4000 years of the Kṛta, Tretā will not begin immediately, but there will be an interim period of 400 years which may be called Kṛta or may not be called Kṛta. Again before the start of Tretā proper there will be an interim period of 300

years which may not be called *Tretā*. Similarly in the case of other yugas. This will show that in the above tables, the figures in *mānava* years do not show separately the *sandhyā* and *sandhyāṅśa* periods, but show the full totals of each yuga.

Number of years for different yugas as given above, is found in most of the *Purāṇas*.¹ But there are certain noteworthy statements about yuga calculations in some of the Puranic and astronomical works. I shall now proceed to note down these.

(1) *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (4, 24, 144ff) has the following:

त्रीणि लक्षाणि वर्षाणां द्वित्रं मानुषसंख्यया ।
षष्टिष्वेव सहस्राणि भविष्यत्येष वै कलिः ॥
शतानि तानि दिव्यानां सप्त पञ्च च संख्यया ।
निर्दशेण गते तस्मिन् भविष्यति पुनः कृतम् ॥

Here Kali has been given 360000 *mānava* years or 12000 *divya* years. If these verses are to be taken literally they will yield 300 *mānava* years for one *divya* year ($\frac{360000}{1200} = 300$). But it is possible that the author has included here *sandhyā* and *sandhyāṅśa* in the figure of *divya* years and has not done so in the case of the *mānava* figures. I have noted these here because it is rather unusual to give *mānava* years for a yuga without the interim periods.

(2) *Skanda* (*Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*, *Pūrvabhāga*, 7, 4ff) has a greatly confused statement about yuga-years.

लक्षाश्च अयुताः प्रोक्ताः अयुते द्वे तथैव च ।
अष्टौ वर्षसहस्रान्ते काले कृतयुगस्य च ॥ ४ ॥
लक्षाद्वादश वै प्रोक्ताः सहस्रस्त्रिंशुता युता ।
त्रैतायुगप्रमाणं च पुराणे परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ५ ॥
अपि षष्टिसहस्रं लक्षैश्चाष्टकीर्तितम् ।
द्वापरं त्रियुगं तत्र पुराणे परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ६ ॥
लक्षाष्टकमसंख्यातमयुते द्वे तथैव च ।
अष्टवर्षसहस्रान्ते काले कलियुगमिधे ॥ ७ ॥

1. *Mr.* 46, 26 ff; *Mf.* 142, 24ff; *Fy.* 8, 51; etc.—almost all the *Purāṇas* have the same measures for the yugas.

This seems to mean that *Kṛta* has 1000078000 years, *Tretā* has 31200000 or 1213000 years, *Dvāpara* has 860000 and *Kali* has 828000 years. But the text here seems to be highly confused and I give it up as hopeless; though the years for *Tretā* and *Dvāpara* are somewhat nearer to their usual figures, the years for the other two yugas are nowhere nearer the mark. Nor is there any scheme in the proportion between the various yugas.

(3) *Manusmṛti* has the following (1, 68ff):

ब्राह्मस्य तु क्षपाहस्य षट्प्रमाणं समासतः ।
 एकैकशो युगानां तु क्रमशस्तन्निबोधत ॥ ६८ ॥
 चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तु कृतं युगम् ।
 तस्य तावच्छती संख्या सख्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥ ६९ ॥
 इतरेषु ससंध्येषु ससंख्यांशेषु च त्रिषु ।
 एकापायेन वर्तन्ते सहस्राणि शतानि च ॥ ७० ॥
 यदेतत्परिसंख्यातमादावेव चतुर्युगम् ।
 एतद्द्वादशसाहस्रं देवानां युगमुच्यते ॥ ७१ ॥
 देविकानां युगानां तु सहस्रं परिसंख्या ।
 ब्राह्ममेकमहर्षेयं तावती रात्रिमेव च ॥ ७२ ॥

This yields the following table:

<i>Kṛta</i> :	400 + 4000 + 400 =	4800
<i>Tretā</i> :	300 + 3000 + 300 =	3600
<i>Dvāpara</i> :	200 + 2000 + 200 =	2400
<i>Kali</i> :	100 + 1000 + 100 =	1200
<i>Caturyuga</i> :		= 12000

12000 years = *divya yuga*

2000 *divya yugas* = *Brahmā's ahorātra*.

Here the years are not characterised as *divya* and therefore they are taken as *mānava* years.¹ This passage preserves some distinct tradition because what is usually taken as *caturyuga* or *Kalpa* is here called *divya yuga*.

(4) *Mahābhārata* has the following: (*Vana parva*, 188, V, 12-28).

1. Cp. Tilak; Aiyer who quotes on this point the agreement of Roth, Wilking and others.

आदिता मनुजव्याघ्र कृत्स्नस्य जगत्: क्षये ।
 चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत्कृतं युगम् ॥
 तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशस्तु तथाविधः ।
 त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि त्रेतायुगमिहोच्यते ।
 तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशततः परं ॥
 तथा वर्षसहस्रे द्वे द्वापरं परिमाणतः ।
 तस्यापि द्विशती संध्या संध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥
 सहस्रमेकं वर्षाणां तथा कलियुगं स्मृतं ।
 तस्य वर्षशतं संधिः संध्यांशश्च ततः परं ।
 एषा द्वादशमाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ।
 एतत्सहस्रपर्यन्तमहर्माहमुदाहृतम् ॥

Here also years are not characterised as *divya* or *mānava* and therefore as in the case of *Manusmṛti*, here also we should take the *mānava* years.

(5) *Nirukta* has the following: (14th *adhyāya*)

सा (श्रुतिः) स्वर्पित युगसहस्रं रात्रिस्तावताहोरात्रावकक्षं परिवर्तते सकालस्तयेतदहर्भ-
 वति युगसहस्रपर्यन्तमहर्माहमो विद् रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तद्दोरात्रविदो जनः इति ॥

Here *Brahmā's* day is said to have 1000 *yugas*. So has his night 1000 *yugas*. The word used is *yuga* and not *caturyuga* or *kalpa* or *divya yuga*.

(6) *Alberuni* (I, P. 373) quotes the following from *Brahmagupta*:

"Further *Brahmagupta* says that *Āryabhaṭṭa* considers the four *yugas* as the four equal parts of a *caturyuga*. Thus he differs from *Smṛti* just mentioned and he who differs from us is an opponent. On the other hand *Brahmagupta* praises *Pauliṣa* for he subtracts 1200 from the 4800 years of the *Krita Yuga* and diminishes the remainder still more, so as to get *yugas* which correspond with those of the *Smṛti*, but *yugas* without *sandhyā* and *sandhyānśa*.

There is a tradition that *Pauliṣa* in his *Siddhānta* specifies various new rules for the computation of these numbers, some of which may be accepted, whilst others are to be rejected. So in the rule for the computation of the *yugas* he puts 48 as the basis and subtracts one-fourth of it so as to get 36. Then again he subtracts 12, for this number is his basis of subtraction, and so gets 12. These 12 he multiplies by '00 and the product represents the number of *divya* years of the *yugas*."

(7) S. B. Dikshit, while giving details about Romaka Siddhānta has given the following quotation from Brahmagupta:¹

युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावृत्ताः।

अस्मान्न रोमके ते स्मृतिशब्दो रोमस्तस्मात्॥

Another quotation is given by Dikshit from *Pañcasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira:²

रोमकयुगमर्केन्दोर्वर्षाण्याकाशपञ्चवसुपक्षः (२८५०) जेन्द्रिपदिशो (१०५०)
ऽधिमासाः स्वरकृतविषयाष्टवः (१६५४७) प्रलयाः।

i. e. Romaka yuga is of 2850 years, its adhimāsas are 1050 and its pralayas i. e. tithikṣayas are 16547.

It will be seen that out of the various points of view recorded above, the following points of consideration emerge:

(1) What is the real sense of the word yuga? What particular time-unit did yuga represent?

(2) What is the reason of adding sandhyā and sandhyāṅśa periods?

(3) Why does the first Āryabhaṭṭa take equal number of years for all yugas?

(4) Why does Pulāṇi prescribe such a rule for the computation of yuga-years?

(5) Why does Romaka Siddhānta take a yuga to have 2150 years?

I shall consider some of these points here.

(1) The sense of the word yuga:

European scholars translate the word in the Ṛgveda by 'generation' or 'life'. But there are some Indian scholars who have examined the question of yuga-theory in some details. Rangacharya,³ V. G. Aiyer,⁴ Tilak,⁵ S. B. Dikshit⁶ and Shama-śrīstry have discussed this question. All these scholars have

1. See his *Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra*, 2nd ed., p. 155.

2. Ibid. p. 157.

3. See his *The Yugas* (as quoted by Tilak in *Arctic Home in the Vedas*).

4. See his *The Chronology of Ancient India*.

5. See his *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*.

6. See his *Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra*.

come to the conclusion that even in *R̥gveda* yuga means a period of time. Tilak takes yuga to mean 'a month' or 'a period from the first to the last dawn of the year i. e. less than one year. But they all agree that yuga at different times meant a period of a month or 5, 10, 100, 1000, 10000, years. *Vedānga Jyotiṣa* gives five years for yuga, so does Kauṭaliya.

Dikshit has given the ordinary astronomical sense of the word yuga thus: (P. 24).

कहीएक मोष्ट काहीएक कमाने' एकदां धइल ती तशाच कालकमाने' पुनः घडण्याचे जे एक कालपरिमाण ते युग.

The yuga is that time-measure of the recurrence of a particular phenomenon in the same order in which order it occurred.

Really speaking yuga seems to have meant any unit of time. For instance, even in Kālidāsa we have (*Sākuntala*, IV act):

युगान्तरमारुहः सञ्चिता

where yuga would mean 'a quarter of the day'. Yuga meant one year also. In *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* the following occurs:

वर्षे पूर्णे नराणां च देवानां च दिवानिशम् ।

शतत्रये षष्ठ्यधिके नराणां च युगे गते ।

देवानां युगे द्वयोः कालसंख्याविदां मतः ॥ ७३ ॥

Reading this passage in full context there, it will be clearly seen that yuga there means 'year' only. Even in *R̥gveda* it is possible to find out cases where yuga means 'a year'.

R. Shamashastry writes, (*Gavām Ayanām* p. 128). "From the passage of the *Bhagavati Sūtra* quoted above, we know that Kaliyuga is the name of the first year, Dvāparayuga of the second, Tretāyuga of the third and Kṛtayuga of the fourth and so on, in every cycle of four years. Accordingly it is clear that the word yuga was sometimes used in the sense of a year and sometimes in the sense of four years."

Thus, it seems, that yuga had so many senses:

(1) a quarter of a day

(Kālidāsa)

(2) a month

(Tilak)

(3) a period just less than a year	(Tilak) ¹
(4) one year	(Shamashastry)
(5) four years	"
(6) five years	(Vedaṅga Jyotiṣa) ²
(7) ten years	(S. B. Dikshit) ³
(8) 100 years	(Atharvaveda) ⁴
(9) 1000 years	(") ⁴
(10) 10000 years	(") ⁴

Shamashastry has suggested that the first year was called Kali, second Dvāpara, third Tretā and fourth Kṛta. According to him the total of all these was four. This means that each yuga had one year and their total was four. This seems to have been one method of yuga-computation.

But it seems that there was another method of yuga-computation. In our usual figures of 1000, 2000, 3000 and 4000 = 10000 or 1200, 2400, 3600 and 4800 = 12000, the proportion between the different yugas is 1:2:3:4. If the same method i. e. the same proportion be allowed for the very first calculation, it will yield 1:2:3:4: = 10 years.

Thus there would be two possible methods of yuga-computation, one having the proportion 1:1:1:1 = 4 and the other having the proportion 1:2:3:4 = 10.

According to the second method the total will be arrived at thus. The first year will be taken by itself singly. That will be the first yuga. The next two years, which will bring the total to three years, will be the second yuga. Next three years, bringing the total to six years, will be the third yuga. Next four years bringing the total to ten years, will be the fourth yuga. Thus:

Kaliyuga (1 year, yuga meaning year, kali meaning one).

Dvāparayuga (2 years, not the 2nd year but next collection of 2).

Tretāyuga (3 years not the 3rd year, but next collection of 3).

Kṛtayuga (4 years, not the 4th year but collection of 4)

And the total of these four yugas will be ten years.

1. See his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* p. 179-177.

2. See *Bhāratiya Jyotiṣasastra* by S. B. Dikshit, p. 24 ff.

3. *Ibid* p. 24 ff.

4. *Atharvaveda* VIII 2, 21; also Tilak, V. G. Aiyer, Shamashastry, Dikshit.

This means that we can take the total of four yugas to be four or ten years. In the former case, each yuga will have equal number of years and in the latter case the proportion of number of years will be 1:2:3:4.

Let us follow up both these methods of yuga-computation.

This collection of ten years may also be taken as a yuga. So according to the first method, the first ten years will be the first yuga, next ten years (20 from the beginning) will be the second yuga, next ten years (30 from the beginning) will be the third yuga and the next ten years (40 from the beginning) will be the fourth yuga. Thus this group of forty years may be called a caturyuga.

According to the second method, first yuga will have 10 years, second yuga will have 20 years, third yuga will have 30 years and the fourth yuga will have 40 years. Their total will have 100 years.

Just as 10 may be taken as a unit of yuga, for bigger calculations, 100 years may be taken as a unit of yuga or a basic yuga. This, then, according to the above two methods, will give for four yugas 400 years and 1000 years respectively.

Again for bigger calculations, this 1000 years may be taken as a basic yuga, which would yield a caturyuga of 4000 years and 10000 years, according to the above two methods.

Thus there will be so many possibilities:

(1)	1	1	(2)	10	10
	1	2		10	20
	1	3		10	30
	1	4		10	40
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	4	10		40	100
(3)	100	100	(4)	1000	1000
	100	200		1000	2000
	100	300		1000	3000
	100	400		1000	4000
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	400	1000		4000	10000

Thus between different yugas the proportion may be 1:1:1:1 = 4 or 1:2:3:4. A basic yuga may have 1, 10, 100, 1000, 10000 and caturyuga may have 4, 40, 400, 4000, or 10, 100, 1000, 10000 years.

But out of these methods of yuga calculations which is the original? I shall make some suggestions about this.

I think that in this connection, words like *Kali*, *Dvāpara*, *Tretā* and *Kṛta* are significant. *Kali* is, of course, one, but what is the force of 'para' in *dvāpara*? *Tretā* again is distinct from all the other three terms inasmuch as it is a feminine word. Why is it feminine? *Kṛta* seems to be the oldest word. I think that originally the words *kali*, *dvāpara*, *tretā* and *kṛta* were not used for yuga-calculations, but the words like *ekata*, *dvita* (not *dvāpara*), *trita* (not *tretā*) and *kṛta* were used for that purpose. In *ekata*, *dvita*, *trita* and *kṛta*, 'ta' is the ordinal termination. In Sanskrit we have 'ta' as well as 'ma' as the ordinal termination e. g. in *ṭṭiya* and *dvītiya* the original words *ṭṭ* and *dvi* have *ta* added to them, 'iya' being possessive termination giving the sense 'of the third' 'of the second.' So also in *caturtha* (*catur* + *tha*), *śaṣṭha* (*ṣaṣ* + *ṭha*) it is 'ta', 'ta' in these cases being changed to 'tha' and 'ṭha' respectively. *Aṣṭa* has 'ta' changed into 'pa'. In *prathama*, *pancama*, *saptama* etc, the termination is 'ma'. Now out of these two ordinal terminations, 'ta' seems to have been the older termination. In fact 'ta' is Indo-European. We find it present in the English fourth (four + th), fifth (five + th) etc., upto nineteenth, where like *caturtha*, the 'ta' is found as 'th'. Thus the forms *ekata*, *dvita*, *trita* and *kṛta* may mean first, second, third and fourth and they seem to be the original terms. In *kṛta*, the word is *kṛ* which means four.

The second method of yuga-computation seems to have its origin in the game of dice. It is well-known that four different throws of dice were differently called *kali*, *dvāpara*, *tretā* and *kṛta*. There was one dice having four sides marked with 1, 2, 3, and 4. This would mean that when dice was thrown, if the side marked 1 came up, the player got one mark, if the side marked 2 came up, he got two marks etc. Total of all the four sides was ten. This game of dice will explain the terms *dvāpara* and *tretā*. The word for dice in Sanskrit was *akṣa* as well as *akṣā* (masculine as well as feminine). Thus three of the words were masculine (*kali*, *dvāpara* and *Kṛta*) and one (*tretā*) was feminine. Again each of these words meant 'a collection of one', 'a collection of two', etc. *Dvāpara* literally will mean 'next two

and it will be a word suitable to the game of dice¹ and therefore to this second method of yuga-computation only.

If the above explanation of the words *ekata* etc., and *kali* etc., is correct it would mean that the original computation of yugas was serial, taking each yuga to have one year only.

Thus we see that both these methods of yuga computation are possible.

(2) It is said that first Āryabhaṭṭa takes all yugas to have equal number of years. According to the usual calculation the total of four yugas is 10000 or 12000 divya years. If now we take each yuga to have equal number of years, each yuga will have 2500 or 3000 years. But this is attested by no evidence. Then why did Āryabhaṭṭa make such a statement?

We have seen above the possibility of two methods of yuga-computation. Out of these two methods the second is the usual practice, according to which the yugas will have the following year.

1000 (without स'ध्या०)	1200 (with स'ध्या०)
2000	2400
3000	3600
4000	4800
<hr/> 10000	<hr/> 12000

This method is the one accepted by the Purāṇas. But the first method also seems to have been in vogue. According to that method yugas will have the following years:

1000	1200
1000	1200
1000	1200
1000	1200
<hr/> 4000	<hr/> 4800

It seems that Āryabhaṭṭa had this method of yuga-computation in mind, when he said that all yugas had equal number of years. This would, incidentally, prove that what we have called the first method was in vogue at some time. It is only on that assumption that we can explain his remark about equal number of years for all yugas.

1. cf. *ekapara* used for dice in the Gambler's hymn in *RF*.

(3) We have quoted Alberuni to show that Pulisā gives a method of yuga-computation, which takes 4800 as the basic figure and 1200 as the basis of subtraction. This also can be explained if we believe that Pulisā believed in the first method of computation of yugas. For if we take the second method, the total will be 12000 and there will be no point in taking 4800 as the basic number. Again subtraction of 1200 each time also shows that each yuga had 1200 years.

Tilak, Shamashastry and others have expressed the opinion that divya years for yugas in Purāṇas, are really mānava years. Therefore according to them yugas have 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years or without interim periods 4000, 3000, 2000, and 1000 years respectively. It will be seen that they accept the second method. I accept that divya years of the Purāṇas are really mānava years, but stipulate that at first all yugas had equal number of years *i. e.* 1000 years only and then they came to have 1200 years. And it was very late that this second method of yuga-computation was adopted.

We have, earlier, seen ample and definite proofs in support of a yuga having 1000 and 1200 years. I shall, now talk of the sub-yugas of 1200 years.

Caturyuga of 40 years was long known, but after the yuga was taken to have 1200 years, it, very conveniently, became a sub-yuga of a bigger yuga. Let us see how. Caturyuga of 40 years will have four basic yugas each of 10 years called Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, and the caturyuga of 4800 years will have four basic yugas each of 1200 years. Now we shall name the sub-yugas of the caturyuga of 40 years as laghukṛta, laghutretā, laghudvāpara and laghukali and the sub-yugas of the caturyugas of 4800 years as mahākṛta mahātretā, mahādvāpara and mahakali. Laghukṛta etc. will have 10 years each, mahākṛta etc. will have 1200 years each. Caturyuga of 40 years will be called laghu-caturyuga and the caturyuga of 400 years will be called mahācaturyuga.

Now each of the mahāyugas will have 30 laghu-caturyugas ($1200 \div 40 = 30$). That is, in mahākṛta etc. there will be 30 laghukṛtas, 30 laghutretās, 30 laghudvāparas and 30 laghukalis. Thus laghukṛta etc. will have 10 years each, laghu-caturyuga will have 40 years, mahā-kṛta etc. will have 1200 years and mahācaturyuga will have 4800 years.

Keeping in mind that such a system is possible only after the amended yuga system (of 1200 years) came in vogue, if we read the Purāṇas, several passages seem to corroborate such a system.

There are puranic passages in which Sumitra is placed in 29th Caturyuga. This is obviously the laghu-caturyuga of the amended mahakali. It refers to the 29th caturyuga after the 28 caturyugas or yugakhyās were over with or after Sumitra. Thus this mention of 29th caturyuga positively proves that the yuga of 1200 years had come into existence, for in a mahayuga of 1000 years, the 29th caturyuga (of 40 years each) will never be possible.

But we have another reference. Almost all the Purāṇas, in one or the other way, say that Vyāsa Dvaipāyana lived in the 28th Dvāpara. There are some Purāṇas which give avatāras, where they point out that Vyāsa Dvaipāyana and Kṛṣṇa also lived in the 28th dvāpara and Vyāsa Parāśara in the 26th dvāpara.

Now which dvāpara is this? Dvaipāyana Vyāsa lived at the Mahābhārata time and we know that real Kali ended 200 years later than Mahābhārata war. 28th dvāpara of this real Kali of 1000 years is not possible, as a mahayuga of 1000 years will have only 25 laghuyugas. Therefore, this dvāpara refers to the amended yuga system.

Now amended Kali started and amended Dvāpara ended in 3176 B. C. So the 28th dvāpara of the preceding mahādvapara will close 80 years earlier, i. e. in 3256. This is a possible date (of birth) for both Dvaipāyana and Kṛṣṇa if we take their lives to have been of more than 80 years. Similarly, 26th dvāpara of the mahādvapara (i. e. 80 years earlier than Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa) is possible for Parāśara as he was a contemporary of Viśvavīrya who was three degrees senior to Abhinavāyu.

Thus both these calculations are based on amended yuga system.

Again it is said that Rāma (Dāsarathī) lived in 24th or 27th tretā (more probably 27th tretā). This too refers to the amended yuga system. Rāma is usually placed in Tretā, i. e. in the 27th laghutretā of mahātretā. Therefore, according to the amended yuga system, Rāma will be removed from Manu by 30 laghu-caturyugas of mahākṛta and 27 laghu-caturyugas of mahātretā i. e. in all by 57 laghu-caturyugas. And we find that in the genealogies his real number was 57th. Again between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa usually one

mahāyuga is believed to have elapsed. If Kṛṣṇa and Dvaipāyana were in the 28th dvāpara of the mahādvāpara, Rāma must be in the 27th tretā of the mahātretā. But the difference between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa seems, at one time, to have been taken not of 1200 years but of $(70-57=13 \div 40=520)$ about 500-525 years, as Kṛṣṇa, along with Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th. And, Rāma's date according to this calculation will be $(3201+525=3726)$ cir. 3725-50 B. C.

These pieces of evidence should, I believe, prove beyond all doubts, that at some time of our Puranic traditions, a yuga of 1200 years and its sub-divisions into smaller yugas of 40 years were in vogue.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SAPTARSI ERA

STUDENTS of Indology have been aware, for a long time past of the existence of an era called Saptarṣi Era, and some scholars have studied its nature ere now. But I have found that there are some peculiar problems connected with this Era.

Saptarṣi Era or as it is variously called Pahādi Samvat, Laukikakālā, Sāstra sanvat, is a cycle of 2,700 years. As planets are in conjunction with the various rāsis and nakṣatras for a specific period, so, it is supposed that the Saptarṣis remain in conjunction with each of the 27 nakṣatras for 100 years. Thus they will take 2,700 years to complete a cycle. This is universally acknowledged to be the nature of this era. But about the initial point of this era there is some divergence of opinion. Cunningham says that Vṛddha Garga and the Purāṇas put the beginning of this era in 3177 B. C. and Varāhamihira and other astronomers put it in 2477 B. C. (Cunningham; *Book of Eras* p. 12). The era is even now prevalent in Kashmir and such other parts of India. Cunningham has noted (p. 6) that, "it is still used in hill states to the southeast of Kashmir between the Chenab on the west and the Jumna on the east"; and has further said that according to Alberuni 'the use of Sapta-Rishi Cycle had certainly extended to Multan and Sindh.' (p. 10). Moreover, Alberuni, whose guage year is Saka Era 952 or 1030 A. D., says (I p. 391) "I have read in the almanac for the year 951 of Saka Kal, which came from Kashmir, the statement that the Seven Rishis stand since 77 years in the lunar station Anurādhā." If this is true we have here, a third initial point for this era, the first two being 3177 B. C. and 2477 B. C. According to this statement, Saptarṣis entered Anurādhā in $951+78=1029-77=952$ A. D. Then working backwards we find that they entered Maghā in 282 A. D. and before that in 2448 B. C. Thus 2448 B. C. will also be the initial point of of S. E. Again Stien has noted that according to Buhler the initial point of S. E. was 3077 B. C. (see Stien's *Rājatarāṅgini*,

I Intr. p. 85). Thus we get four different initial years for S. E., viz 2448 B. C., 2477 B. C., 3077 B. C. and 3177 B. C. Which one of these is correct and how did other dates come into existence? I shall attempt an answer.

S. E. is related to Kali Era (K. E.). Cunningham writes (p. 12) "The following is a translation of the reply which I received from the Brahmans of Kangra in A. D. 1859, regarding the Sapta Rishi Kal—'At the beginning of the Kali yuga the Seven Rishis (or Stars of Ursa Major) had been 75 years in one Nakshatra (Maghā), and they remained in the same for 25 years longer. These 25 years are the amount of difference between the total number of Kaliyuga years elapsed and the number of centuries of years of the Hill Cycle (Paharī Samvat) up to the present date. Thus the present 1885 of the Christian Era, is the kali-yuga 4960 and 35 of the 60th Hill Cycle or exactly 25 years short of the number of Kaliyuga years." Cunningham further says that similar replies were received by him from Mandi and Bishar. Thus it is clear that Saptarṣis entered Maghā 75 years before the Kali started. Usual date for Kalistart is 3101 B. C. Therefore Saptarṣis had entered Maghā in $3101 + 75 = 3176$ or B. C. Thus one of the above four dates is explained. But how can we explain the years 2477 B. C. and 2448 B. C.? This date is based on a verse from Bṛhat-samhitā of Varāhamihira. In the 23rd adhyāya it is said.

सैकावलीव राजति ससितोत्पलमालिनी महासेव ।
 नाथवतीव च दिव्यैः कौबिरी सप्तभिर्मुनिभिः ॥ १
 ध्रुवनायकोपदेशाभरितविोत्तगा भ्रमद्विध ।
 वैद्यारमहं तेषां वक्ष्यिष्ये वृद्धार्गेमतात् ॥ २
 वासन्मघामु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वी युधिष्ठिरे वृषती
 षड्विंशत्युतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥ ३

The last verse, which is generally taken to be a quotation from Vṛddha Garga, but which may be a paraphrase from Vṛddha Garga's book, is usually taken to mean (1) Saptarṣis were in Maghā when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling on this earth. (2) Saka Era is 2526 years from that king. And taking like this, they put Yudhiṣṭhira's date in $2526 - 78 = 2448$ B. C. or $3101 - 2448 = 653$ years after the start of Kali era as we have already seen in Kashmir chronology. And as it was believed that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira, they seem to have taken that century of the

Saptarṣis, which included the year 2448 B. C. to be the century in which Saptarṣis were in Maghā. Thus they seem to have taken 2477 B. C. to 2377 B. C. as the period during which Saptarṣis were in Maghā. It is thus that they seem to have arrived at 2477 B. C. as the initial point of S. E. And some one has shifted the initial point from 2477 B. C. to 2448 B. C. Thus we can explain these two dates. But it should be remembered that these two dates are entirely based on the above interpretation of the verse āsanmaghāsu etc.

But the interpretation given above does not seem to be correct. The second line of the last verse, so far as I can see, can have only one sense and it is "The period (kāla) of the era (Saka) of that king is of 2526 years." Tasya rājnah can ordinarily mean 'of that king' not 'from that king'. However if it is taken as a Prakritism or if the word 'kalāt' is supplied after 'rājnah' the verse may mean as it is taken by Kalhāṇa and others. Thus this line has two possible senses. (1) The period of that king's era is of 2526 years. (2) Saka era is 2526 years from that king. I prefer the first sense. But taking that both these senses are possible, I shall explain both of them. According to the second sense, Saka era will be removed from Yudhiṣṭhira's era by 2526 years. Yudhiṣṭhira's era is usually taken to be the same as Kali era, which is generally taken to have started in 3101 B. C. But Yudhiṣṭhira's death happened 25 years after the start of K. E. i. e. in 3076 B. C. and if his era was taken to have started in that year then 2526 years from that year will come to $3076 - 2526 = 550$ B. C. And we have seen that a Saka Era (followed by the W. Kṣātrapas) was started in about that year. Therefore, the Saka Era of this verse should refer to this Saka Era of c. 552 B. C. and not to the Saka Era of 78 B. C. But later writers took the verse in the second sense and not knowing the earlier Saka Era, related Yudhiṣṭhira's Era to Saka era of 78 A. D. and thus brought down the date of Yudhiṣṭhira by 653 years or 753 years as is clearly seen in Kashmir Chronology. The above explanation of this verse referring to Saka Era of 552 B. C. is plausible and some scholars have already proposed it. But to me this second sense does not seem to be intended. The second sense fits only if we put the start of Y. E. in 3076 B. C. This year, though likely to have been misunderstood as the year of Yudhiṣṭhira's death is not seen so used elsewhere. To me, therefore, above second sense does not seem to have been

intended. I prefer the first sense. It means 'now upto the year in which the statement is being made, 2526 years of Y. E. have passed.' Now according to me Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation took place in 3201 B. C. Taking his era to have started in that year, 2026 years will bring us to $3201 - 2526 = 675$ B. C. Now I must point out that it was in this year that the resuscitated Kṛta era (used in some of our inscriptions) had started, $(1976 - 776 - 100 = 676$ B. C.) Therefore this statement of Vṛidha Garga was made in 675 or 676 B. C. and it means that upto that year, 2526 years of Y. E. had passed. That Y. E. was taken to have started in 3201 B. C. as well as in 3101 B. C. is seen by us while considering the Kashmir Chronology. This according to me is the correct interpretation. The interpretation which relates Y. E. with Saka era of 552 B. C. is plausible; but the interpretation which relates Y. E. with Saka Era of 78 A. D., is absolutely incorrect.

But once the wrong interpretation was put on the verse either by Varāhamihira himself or by someone else after him, the idea that Yudhiṣṭhira died in 2448 B. C. gained currency. But this date will come in conflict with several other facts. It was universally known that Yudhiṣṭhira died either in the year in which K. E. started or 25 years after it. Therefore they should have said that Kali also started in 2448 B. C. or in $2448 - 25 = 2423$ B. C. But they could not do so, as the Kali-start was universally known to be in 3101 B. C. or 3201 B. C. So they said that Yudhiṣṭhira died 653 or 753 years after the Kali started. It is on this stand that present Kashmir Chronology as given in Kalhana's Rāj is based. Thus taking 2448 B. C. as the date of Y. E. on the strength of the above verse and taking also that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira on the strength of the same verse, they put the start of S. E. in 2477 B. C. or in 2448 B. C. This is, I think, how these two dates as the initial points of S. E. have come into existence.

Now let us see how the fourth date—3077 B. C.—has come into existence. We have seen that Varāhamihira, following Vṛidha Garga, says that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira. Cunningham's Kashmirian informant, as shown earlier makes this statement more definite by saying that Saptarṣis had completed 75 years in Maghā at the start of K. E. and were for 25 years more in Maghā after the start of K. E. Now the start of K. E. is usually put in the same year in which Moh war happened i. e. in the year

in which Yudhiṣṭhira was coronated. I have taken Yudhiṣṭhira's rule to have lasted for 26 years, i. e. Saptarṣis left Maghā in the year in which Yudhiṣṭhira died. But along with this, as we have seen earlier, the Purāṇas preserve another tradition that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Parikṣit. Here is a conflict. Parikṣit ascended the throne in the year in which Yudhiṣṭhira died, i. e. according to one tradition, in the year in which Saptarṣis passed out of Maghā, and yet another tradition says that they were in Maghā in Parikṣit's times. How can they be in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira and Parikṣit, if they passed out of Maghā at the death of Yudhiṣṭhira i. e. at the accession of Parikṣit?

Let us see what must have actually happened? I have earlier given the various adjustments in the start of K. E. Accordingly Mbh war occurred in 3201 B. C. Now if Saptarṣis had entered Maghā in 3276 B. C., at that time, they will say that in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira they were in Maghā as they would be in Maghā throughout the period of his rule from 3201-3176 B. C. Now later on when they took 3201 B. C. as the date of the start of K. E., they said Saptarṣis were in Maghā for 75 years before the start of K. E. and were in Maghā for 25 years more in K. E. Thus at this time Saptarṣis were in Maghā from 3276 B. C. to 3176 B. C. This was correct. But what would be the position when they took 3101 B. C. as the date of the start of K. E.? They had the statement before them that Saptarṣis entered Maghā 75 years before the start of K. E. So, according to this new start of K. E., Saptarṣis must enter Maghā in 3176 B. C. and should remain in Maghā from 3176 B. C. to 3076 B. C. But how can this be? According to earlier traditions they were in Maghā from 3276-3176 B. C. Now they wanted them to be in Maghā from 3176-3076 B. C. What they did was this. They said that from 3276-3176 B. C. Saptarṣis passed through Maghā in forward motion, but from 3176-3076 B. C. they passed through Maghā in retrograde motion. That is, for 100 years from 3276-3176 B. C. Saptarṣis were travelling through Maghā and at the end of 100 years i. e. in 3176 B. C. they reached the end of Maghā. Then in 3176 B. C. they started retracing their course from the end of Maghā and in 3176 B. C. they reached the starting point of Maghā, after which they would enter Āśleṣā (according to retrograde motion), not Purvā Phālgunī (as in forward motion). Thus Saptarṣis will require 100 years for going forward in Maghā and 100 years more

for going retrograde in the same nakṣatra of Maghā. Thus they will remain in Maghā for 200 years from 3276 B. C. to 3076 B. C. Thus would start the retrograde motion of the Saptarṣis. Thus there will be two starting points of S. E.-3276 B. C. and 3176 B. C. But this double crossing of Maghā by Saptarṣis created fresh complications. They knew that Yudhiṣṭhira died in 3176 B. C. and Parikṣit came to the throne in the same year. Therefore the first 100 years from 3276-3176 B. C. will fall in Yudhiṣṭhira's days, but the next 100 years from 3176-3076 B. C. will fall in Parikṣit's days. Thus two traditions would arise one saying that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in Yudhiṣṭhira's days and another saying Saptarṣis were in Maghā in Parikṣit's days. And they knew that for 100 years before and for 100 years after the death of Yudhiṣṭhira, Saptarṣis were in Maghā.

Now in later days when 3101 B. C. was taken as the date of Kali start and therefore of Mbh war Yudhiṣṭhira's death will be put in 3076 B. C. At that time they will say that Saptarṣis were in Maghā from 3176-3076 B. C. (upto Y's death in forward motion) and were also in Maghā from 3076-2976 B. C. (in retrograde motion). Thus a new date viz 3077 B. C. will come into existence for the start of S. E. And this is our fourth date of Saptarṣi start.

Thus have come into existence four different dates, 3076, 3176, 2476, 2448, B. C. as the initial dates of S. E. To these four dates, which are found in vogue, I have added one more 3276 B. C. And I think that this is the correct date in which Saptarṣis had entered Maghā. Usually the Saptarṣi cycle is taken to have started 75 years before K. E. start with Saptarṣis entering Maghā. But I suggest that just at that time one cycle of 2700 years was completed and another cycle of 2700 years had started. And this date I put in 3276 B. C. I have put Manu Vaisvata's date in 5976 B. C. If the Saptarṣi Cycle had started in his days in 5976 B. C. with Saptarṣis entering Maghā, that cycle will be completed after 2700 years, in $5976-2700=3276$ B. C. That this was the case is borne out by another consideration also. One of Cunningham's informants wrote to him that (P. 12) 'the Rishis had completed three revolutions less 25 years in the Dwapara-yuga before the Kali Yuga began; "This means that S-cycle had started 275 years before the start of Kali: Now I have put the real start of Kali in 2976 B. C.,

which when adjusted will give 3001 B. C. as the start of Kali, just 200 years less than 3201 B. C. If so, according to the above statement Saptarṣi Cycle must have started in $3001 + 275 = 3276$ B. C. And that is what I have suggested above. Only, we should remember that it was the second cycle of S. E. which had started in 3276 B. C., the first having started in 5976 B. C.

Let us now understand the basic conception of this era. Pargiter's text (D K A) has this:

सप्तर्षयस्तु वर्तन्ते | सप्तविंशतिपर्यन्ते
 यत्र नक्षत्रमण्डले | कृत्स्ने नक्षत्रमण्डले
 सप्तर्षयस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्यायेण शते शतम्
 सप्तर्षीणां युगं द्वेदिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम् १५
 मासा दिव्याः स्मृता षट्च दिव्याब्दानि तु सप्त द्वि
 तेभ्यः प्रवर्तते काले दिव्यः सप्तर्षीभिस्तु वै
 सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्येते उदितौ निश्चि
 तयोर्मध्ये तु नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत्समं दिवि
 तने सप्तर्षयो युक्ता ज्ञेया ज्योतिर्न शते समाः २०
 नक्षत्राणां ऋषीणां च योगस्यैतन्निर्दिष्टम्

This means that Saptarṣis were in conjunction, for 100 years, with that constellation, which is seen in the middle of those two stars of the Saptarṣis, which are first seen arisen in the sky. And thus, by turn, they reside for 100 years in each of the constellations. Their yuga i. e. Saptarṣi-Yuga is calculated as 7 divya years and 6 divya months i. e. taking 360 mānava years to be equal to one divya year, a Saptarṣi-Yuga will have $(7\frac{1}{2} \times 360 = 2520 \times 180 =)$ 2700 mānava years.

This apparently presupposes a relative motion of the Saptarṣis and the constellations. The Saptarṣis according to this, should be actually seen to be in conjunction, for 100 years with each of the 27 constellations. But modern meteorologists, on inquiry, have affirmed that no such relative stellar motion is known to modern Astronomy. Therefore, this is a theoretical contrivance and not an era based on actual observation. But then why do the Purāṇas make such a categorical statement that Saptarṣis remain in conjunction with each of the Nakṣatras for 100 years and that they were actually in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira? Were they really

seen to be in Maghā or was it through traditional handing down of the era that they said so?

Let us, here, consider the question from the point of view of actual observation. According to the Puranic conception of this Era, the first two stars of the Saptarṣis, should be in conjunction with Maghā in the Mbh days. Which are these two stars?



Naming the seven stars of the Saptarṣi constellation as *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* as shown in the above diagram, one may say that *a* and *b* are the first two stars of the constellation. But if we draw perpendiculars at the points *a* and *b*, the field covered by these two lines so drawn, if sufficiently projected, will be seen to pass, even to day, through Kṛtikā and Rohiṇi and not through Maghā. Then why did they say that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in Yudhiṣṭhira's times? Were they actually in Maghā then and have they, now, through their motion come today in conjunction with Kṛtikā? I think an explanation is possible. If instead of taking *a* and *b* as the two stars meant, some one takes *a* and *c* as the stars meant and if perpendiculars are drawn at the point *a* and *c* the field covered by the lines so drawn, if sufficiently projected, will be seen to pass, even today, through Maghā. It must have been so seen even in Mbh days and it was probably seeing such a phenomenon that they took the era to be astronomically correct.

But when was it so taken? We have seen that Saptarṣis are taken to have been in Maghā in 5976 B. C. and then in 3276 B. C. and then according to retrograde motion in 476 B. C. or 376 B. C. But such a phenomenon as described above was not taken as correct, for the first time, in 476 B. C. or 376 B. C. for, though, according to calculations, Saptarṣis were in Maghā then and though with bare eyes also the stars *a* and *c* will be seen to be united with Maghā then, they knew that the era was traditionally handed to them, at least from the days of Yudhiṣṭhira. So they, in 476 B. C. or 376 B. C. did not first formulate the idea that stars *a*

and *c* were united with Maghā. Was it first formulated in the days of Yuddhiṣṭhira? I think not. Saptarṣis were known to have entered Maghā 75 years before the Mbh war i. e. in 3276 B. C. and in that year there was no particular occasion to start an era. Therefore, we have to go to 5976 B. C. I have taken that to be the date of Manu Vaivasvata. At that time there had been a terribly devastating flood, the people had to leave their original home as a result of that flood and Manu Vaivasvata had led his people to a new home; and it may be justly said that it was an occasion worth starting a new era. And they started the era-kṛtayuga era as well as the S. E. with Saptarṣis entering in Maghā. It was at this time, I think, that the two stars which are supposed to be in conjunction with each of the Nakṣatras by turn, were taken to be *a* and *c*.

But I think that the idea of the Saptarṣi Era was not formulated for the first time even in the days of Manu Vaivasvata. It was an era, which was handed down to them from their original home. I can point out two or three circumstances indicating the great antiquity of the era. The verse which gives the precise nature of the conjunction of Saptarṣis with the constellations, is this:

सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्येते उदितौ निशि
तयोर्मध्ये तु नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत्समं दिवि
तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्ता शेषा ज्योतिर्गन्तव्यं समाः ।

But Brahmanḍa has here a different reading in the first line. It reads

सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्येते उत्तरा दिशि

And the phrase *uttarā diśi* 'is Vedic and shows the great antiquity of the verse and therefore of the era. But of course, this by itself is not enough to show that the era was in vogue before Manu Vaivasvata. Let us consider another factor. The whole idea of S. E. is based upon the conception that like the planets Saptarṣis also remain in conjunction with each of the constellations by turn. But nowhere is it mentioned how Saptarṣis are united with the rāṣis. This means that the conception of S. E. had taken shape probably before the rāṣis became known to Indian astronomers. This also may point to the antiquity of the era. But the most decisive factor, so far as I can see, is this. The above verse talks of the first two stars. If the conception of the era was first formulated in 5976 B. C., then we shall have to say that the

formulators took the first two stars to be *a* and *c*. But every unbiassed observer will most unhesitatingly say that so far as the verse is concerned, the two stars meant could only be *a* and *b* and not *a* and *c*. They (*a* and *b*) are seen first rising in the sky. It is only by a stretch of imagination that we can take *a* and *c* to be the stars first rising. Thus if *a* and *b* are the stars meant in the verse, they are not seen now and could not be ever seen as united with Maghā, but are seen now and would always be seen united with Kṛttikā and Rohini. Therefore, I think that S. E. was first made current not in 5976 B. C., when Saptarṣis were known to be in Maghā, but in that year in which they would enter Kṛttikā. If from 5976 B. C. we trace the S-cycle back to Kṛttikā, we get 6676 B. C. as the date of their entering Kṛttikā. Therefore I think that S. E. was first started in 6676 B. C. In Vedic days Nakṣatra-beginning was made with Kṛttikā and not with Āśvini. And that being the first nakṣatra and also being the nakṣatra which was seen united with the Saptarṣis, they started the era then. Or it may be the other way. They wished to start such an era and they saw that Saptarṣis were seen to be with Kṛttikā. Therefore they took kṛttikā as the first constellation. At any rate, it seems most probable, on the strength of the above verse that the stars meant were *a* and *b* and not *a* and *c*, and as these are the stars (*a* and *b*) seen to be united with Kṛttikā and not with Maghā, the beginning of S. E. must have been made with Kṛttikā and not with Maghā. Therefore I take 6676 B. C. as the initial point of S. E.

But when in 5976 B. C., Manu Vuivasvata reconstructed all the traditions etc. as he must have done, he found that chronologically they were in the Maghā period of S. E. and as he must have desired to reorient S. E. he must have said that though the cycle of 2700 years was not over, yet the era should be taken as newly started in 5976 B. C. with Saptarṣis entering Maghā. And it must have been at this time that the two stars of the verse were taken to be *a* and *c* and not *a* and *b*, as *a* and *c* with a slightly different construction would actually be seen united with Maghā. And it must have been at this time that the reading uttrā diśi instead of uditau niśi must have come into existence. But again in the days of Parikṣit etc. as I have suggested earlier, they had to change the initial point of S. E. from 3276 B. C. to 3176 B. C. and at a still later period, to 3076 B. C. At this time they took their motion

author Harṣa here referred to is unmistakable as he is designated as Harṣa Vikrama. Therefore, Harṣa, the writer on dramaturgy, is not Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kanauj, but is Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who is described in *Rājatarāṅginī*.

Further, we have actual quotations given from the works of Harṣa and Mātṛgupta, Śārādātānaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* (a work on dramaturgy) and Abhinavaguptācārya in his *Abhinavabhārati*, the commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyasāstra*, have quoted the opinions of Harṣa. In *Abhinavabhārati* Harṣa's *vārtika* on *Nāṭyasāstra*, is referred to and actual quotations from it are given. Three such quotations are found in the first volume of *Nāṭyasāstra*, with *Abhinavabhārati* as printed in the Gaekwad oriental Series (pp 172-207 also see *Bhāvaprakāśa* p. 238). Similarly works of Mātṛgupta also are referred to and actual passages are quoted from them. Therefore, it is beyond any doubt that authors named Harṣa Vikrama and Mātṛgupta did actually exist.

Thus the historicity of both Harṣa Vikramāditya and Mātṛgupta is definitely established and we have seen that Mātṛgupta abdicated his throne in 56 B. C. and Harṣa Vikrama of Ujjain died in 56 B. C.

(2) His identification with Viṣamaśīla of KSS

I further think that this Vikramāditya is identical with the Vikramāditya about whom certain stories are given in the last Lambaka of *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The Lambaka is named Viṣamaśīla Lambaka and it describes the various exploits of the king Vikramāditya who is also called Viṣamaśīla. That the king Vikramāditya was also named Viṣamaśīla is clear from the following verse of *Kathāsaritsāgara*:

नाम्ना तं विक्रमादित्यं हरेत्तेनाकरोत्पिता ।

तथा विषमशीलं च महेन्द्रादित्यभूपतिः ॥ XVIII, 1,51

Now I must here point out that Harṣa Vikrama, who is described in *Rājatarāṅginī*, had a son named Pratāpāśīla. While describing the digvijaya of Pravarasena II, Kallhaṇa writes that he i. e. Pravarasena, seeing that Pratāpāśīla Śilāditya the son of Harṣa Vikramāditya, was defeated and dispossessed of his throne by his enemies, conquered Ujjain and reinstated Pratāpāśīla on the throne. Kallhaṇa says:

वैरिनिर्वासितं पित्र्ये विक्रमादित्येन न्यधात
राज्ये प्रतापशीलं स शीलादित्वापरामिषम् ॥ III

This śīla ending in the name of Prarāpaśīla, I think, connects him with Viṣamaśīla (which name also ends in śīla) Vikramāditya.

That Harṣa Vikramāditya was called Viṣamaśīla is proved from the following also. There is a subhāṣita. One poet gave the following two quarters for pādapūrti:

अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं
न तेषां विद्यते भयम् ॥

another completed the verse thus:

अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं खे वीक्ष्य जलदाग्ने ।
ये विद्योनेऽपि जीवन्ति न तेषां विद्यते भयम् ॥

On this verse *Śārngadhara-paddhati* (Peterson no. 572) has the following remark:

अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं, न तेषां विद्यते भयमितिपादद्वयं समस्या ।

Now this whole verse is given under the signature of Meṭṭha i. e. Bhartṛmeṭṭha in *Śārngadhara-paddhati*. The same verse is given in *Subhāṣitāvalī* (no. 1718) under the signature of Viṣamāditya. It is proposed by some to emend this to Vikramāditya but it is not necessary. As I have suggested above Harṣa Vikrama was called Viṣamaśīla also. Here he is called Viṣamāditya. That this refers to Harṣa Vikramāditya and not to any other Vikramāditya, is proved by the following. The verse is alternately given under the name of Bhartṛmeṭṭha. That only means that the verse had joint authorship. Probably, Vikramāditya or Viṣamāditya asked the two caruṇas and Bhartṛmeṭṭha completed the verse and thus it came to be known as composed by Meṭṭha or Viṣama. Now this Bhartṛmeṭṭha was a contemporary of Maṭṛgupta. Kalhaṇa has described the incident in which Bhartṛmeṭṭha took his poem *Hayagrīvavadha* to Maṭṛgupta and and Maṭṛgupta, after proper test, judged it to be a worthy poem and rewarded Bhartṛmeṭṭha. Thus Maṭṛgupta, Bhartṛmeṭṭha and Harṣa Vikrama lived at the same time. Therefore the name Viṣamāditya found under this verse shows that Harṣa Vikrama was also called Viṣamāditya or Viṣamaśīla. Peterson (*Subhāṣitāvalī* Intr. p. II8) remarks: "The Vikramāditya of *Rajataranginī* was also called Viṣamaśīla. If it be not a mere

mistake of the copyists Vishamāditya may be another from of the name." I do not know on what grounds Peterson makes the statement that Vikramāditya of *Rājatarāṅginī* was also called Viśamaṣila. He has given no grounds but the statement corroborates me.

Therefore, I would take Vikramāditya of Ujjain who died in 56 B. C. and who is described in *Rājatarāṅginī* to be the same as the Vikramāditya who is described in the last Lambaka of *Kṭha-saritsaṅgāra*. He would thus have three names: Vikramāditya, Harṣa and Viśamaṣila. We need not be surprised at these three names of the same king, for we know that in ancient times, kings used to have many *birudas*.

Thus it is this king Viśamaṣila Harṣa Vikramāditya, after whose name the era of 56 B. C. was founded and we now know that the era was founded from the date of his death.

(3) His Parentage

According to the chronological scheme accepted in these pages Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mandasor Inscription of the Mālava era 589 is to be put in 87 B. C. The inscription of Dakṣa, who was a contemporary of Viṣṇuvardhana is dated Mālava or Kṛta era 589. I put the initial point of this era in 676 B. C. Therefore the inscription's date will be $676 - 589 = 87$ B. C. There are two inscriptions found in this connection. (1) The Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman and (2) The Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana dated 589 Mālava era. That the two inscriptions refer to the same person has, now, been generally accepted by all scholars.

We get the following information from these inscriptions (1) At first Viṣṇuvardhana was a subordinate chief under the Guptas, which is shown by the term *guptanāthsah*. (2) Later on he became independent of the Guptas. (3) He conquered lands which were not conquered by the Gupta or the Hūṇas, before him. (4) As is clearly stated, his empire extended from the Lauhitya i. e. Brahmaputra to the western ocean i. e. Surāstra and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendragiri (5) He had humbled the pride of Mihirakula (6) He seems to have been, at first, called *janendra* only i. e. an ordinary chieftain (perhaps a republican president,) but later he acquired for himself the titles *rajaḍhirāja* and *paramēśvara*. (7) He was *ātmavaśīṣa* i. e. he had not inherited any big empire, but had himself established an empire and thus started a dynasty and (8) His mark or royal emblem was *aulikara* (?)

The Mandasor Inscription, which is dated in 589 Mālava era, does not mention the defeat of Mihirakula and the one which is undated mentions it. It has been argued from this that Viṣṇuvardhana had defeated Mihirakula some time after 589 Mālava era, because if he had defeated him earlier, the fact would have been mentioned in the dated inscription. I must confess that I do not quite see the force of this argument. As far as I can see, there is nothing to stop us from taking it that he had defeated Mihirakula even before 589 Mālava era. The undated inscription is a sort of direct royal record, like that of Samudragupta at Allahabad. Its purpose is to recount the achievements of the emperor and therefore the main achievements of his life should be included in it. The dated inscription, on the other hand, has the main object of recording the construction of a well by one Dakṣa, who was the brother of an officer of Viṣṇuvardhana. The name of the emperor comes in, there, only incidentally. Therefore, it is proper that it describes his achievements in general terms, by saying that he conquered kings in the east and in the north. There is no occasion for the particular incident of Mihirakula's defeat to be noted there.

I, therefore, think that the defeat of Mihirakula had occurred much earlier than 589 Mālava era. According to my calculations 589 Mālava era is equivalent to 87 B. C. I put the end of the Guptas in c. 93 B. C. I think that Mihirakula was defeated in the east by Bhānugupta Balāditya II some time before 93 B. C., say in 94 B. C. Again Mihirakula was defeated and finally ousted from India by Viṣṇuvardhana, probably in the same year. And following upon this victory over the Huna, Viṣṇuvardhana must have declared his independence in c. 93 B. C. when according to my calculations Gupta empire definitely came to an end. Thus Viṣṇuvardhana might have ruled from c. 93 B. C. to c. 85 B. C. as an emperor and prior to that date, he must have ruled as a subordinate chief. Viṣṇuvardhana, thus, seems to have built up an empire for himself by slow degrees and therefore, he must have taken some time in doing so. We can, therefore, roughly put his period from 105 B. C. to 85 B. C. Thus this great conqueror, who raised himself to the position of the emperor of the whole India, by his own prowess, seems to have ruled as a subordinate chief upto c. 93 B. C. and then as an emperor from c. 93 B. C. to 85 B. C. He, thus built up a real empire on the ruins of the Gupta empire. We do not know anything more about him, but from the locality

where his inscriptions are found, we may say that his homeland was Malava.

Now, Harṣa Vikramāditya mentioned in *Raīatarāṅgini*, died in 56 B. C. If we take that this Vikrama had ruled for about 30 years which is not impossible, his rule must have started in (56 + 30) c. 86 B. C. This would mean that Harṣa Vikramāditya's rule, came immediately after the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana. And I am, here tempted to make the suggestion that this Harṣa Vikrama was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana. Kalhaṇa has noted that this Vikramāditya had another name beginning with Harṣa and if we restore the name to its original as Harṣa-vardhana, the vardhana-ending will tally with the vardhana-ending in the name of Viṣṇuvardhana. That kings, whose names ended in vardhana, actually ruled at Ujjain or Avanti, is proved by the following verse, which is found in the *Bṛhatśaṅhitā* of Varāhamihira. The section on *Sakunaśāstra*, in *Bṛhatśaṅhitā*, opens with the following verses.

यच्छुक्रशकवागीशकपिष्टलगन्मताम् ।

मतेभ्यः प्राह ऋषभो भागुरेदेवकस्य च ॥ 86th १

भागद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यश्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।

भावन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥ २

सप्तर्षीणां मतं यच्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च यः ।

यानि चोक्तानि सर्गवैर्वाचाकारैश्च भूरिमिः ॥ ३

तानि दृष्ट्वा चकारेम सर्वशकुन्तप्रहम् ।

वराहमिहः प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥ ४

Here, Varāhamihira declares that he has relied, for this collection of *Sakunaśāstra*, on the different authorities like, Sukra, Sakra, Vāgīn, Kapīṣṭhala, Garutmat, Śrīdravyavardhana, Saptarṣis and Garga. Out of all these authorities, all, except Dravyavardhana are sages of old times. The verse seems to suggest that Varāhamihira knew the king almost personally. He notes the name of the king as Śrīdravyavardhana. He further notes that he had the title maharājādhirāja and that he was the king of Avanti. I would fain emend the name Dravyavardhana to Harṣavardhana and say that here is a reference to Harṣavardhana Vikramāditya of Ujjain, particularly as Varāhamihira is already reputed to have lived at his court. But for want of any precise evidence, I shall not press the point. And, yet the verse in question, proves this much, beyond any shadow of doubt that there was a king, whose

personal name ended in vardhana, who ruled at Avantī and who was an emperor (mahārājāhirāja). And even if we do not take Varāhamihira to be a contemporary of the Vikramāditya of 56 B. C., this Āvantika king, referred to by him, must have ruled before 427 Saka era (noted by Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*) i. e. before 505 A. D. At any rate, this verse proves that kings whose names ended in vardhana and who had attained to imperial position, did rule at Ujjain.

Therefore, my suggestion that Harṣavardhana Vikramāditya of Ujjain was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana is not altogether impossible. It is rendered more possible by the following. (1) Harṣa Vikrama's period, according to my chronology, follows immediately that of Viṣṇuvardhana. (2) The homeland of Viṣṇuvardhana was Malva and same was the homeland of Harṣa Vikrama. (3) The personal names of both these are likely to have ended in vardhana, which may suggest family relation.

In *Rājataranginī*, it is said that Harṣa Vikrama had a son named Pratāpasīla Śilāditya. We have seen, earlier how it is possible to connect the name Pratāpasīla with Viśvasīla of Kathāsaritsāgara. We also find that both Harṣa and his son had titles ending in āditya (Vikramāditya and Śilāditya). I would therefore, suggest that Viṣṇuvardhana himself had assumed the title of Mahendrāditya. In Kathāsaritsāgara, in the Viśvasīla Lambaka, Viśvasīla has the title of Vikramāditya and his father is named Mahendrāditya. We have seen how Viśvasīla is to be identified with Harṣa Vikrama. Therefore, these two kings of Ujjain—the father and the son—as referred to in Kathāsaritsāgara, might thus be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana Mahendrāditya and Harṣavardhana Vikramāditya. Thus it is likely if Harṣa Vikrama was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana.

These considerations bring out the following succession:

Viṣṇuvardhana—Mahendrāditya

Harṣavardhana—Vikramāditya—Viśvasīla

—Śilāditya —Pratāpasīla

Here, I am emboldened to make one other suggestion. Jayswal has appended a text of *Āryaṃśuśrīmūlakalpa*, to his Imperial History of India. Under Viṣṇu dynasty he gives the following verse (p. 5 of the Sanskrit text).

ततो विष्णु इत्येव कुन्तनामाजितः परः ।

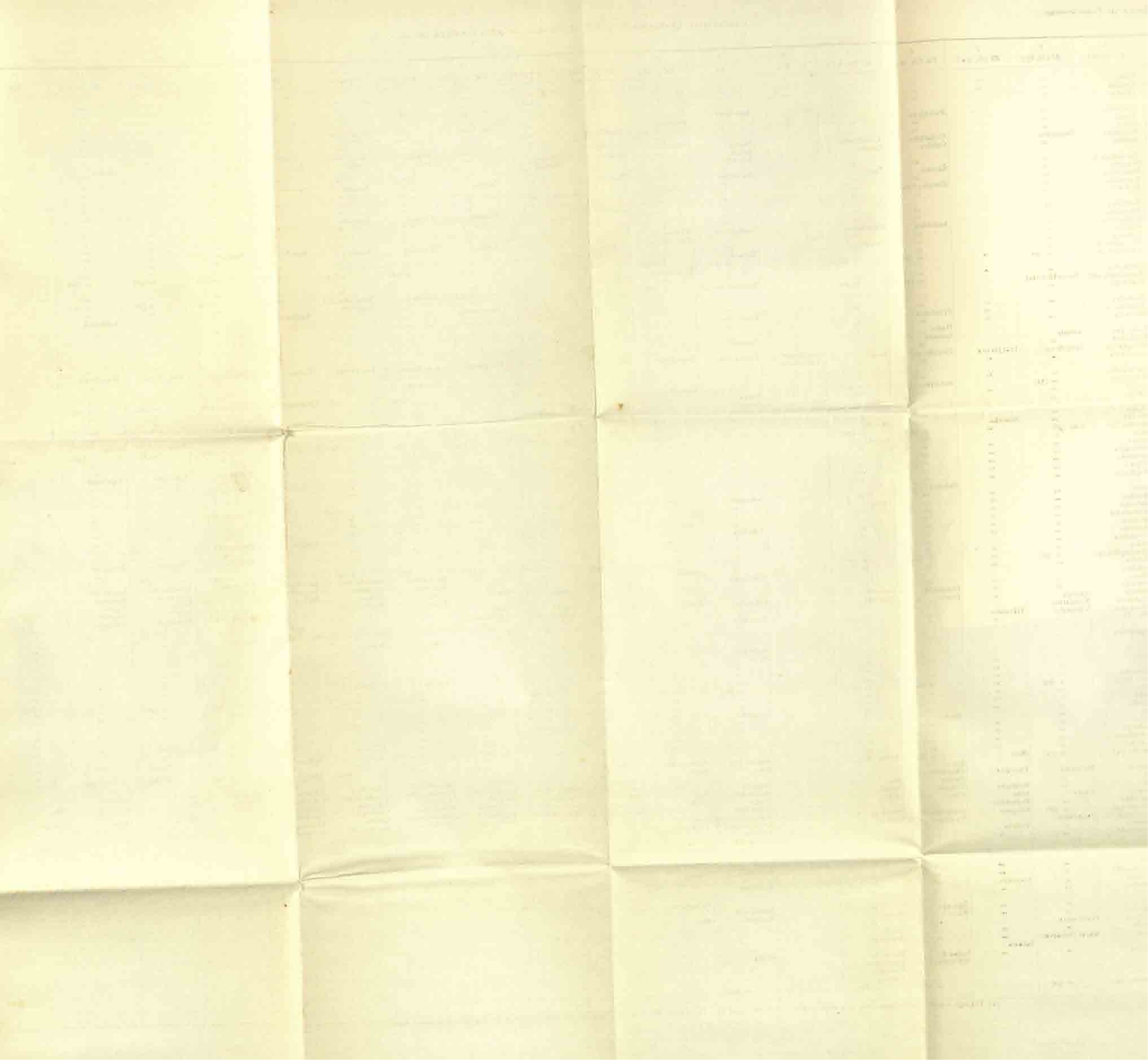
ईशान सर्वपक्षिग्रहमुज्जत अथापरः ॥ ६१२

Jayswal, commenting upon this passage, equates the following kings of the text with the following Maukhari kings (p. 27):

AMMK	Inscriptions etc
Ajita	Ādityasena
Irāna	Īśānavarmā
Śarva	Śarvavarmā
Panki (i. e. Avantī)	Avantivarmā
Graha	Grahavarmā

Then he says: (p. 28) " Viṣṇu is the emperor Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mandasor inscription (GI p. 60) of 589 M. E. (533 A. D.). The other name Hara appears to be of his descendent. The grouping in the text would indicate that. Further there is no other imperial line under which it can come. Situated as he is, before the Maukharis and after Viṣṇu (vardhana), he very likely belonged to the line of Viṣṇuvardhana. "

I am, therefore, tempted to suggest that the name Hara of the text stands for Harṣa. Looking to the extremely corrupt language and metre of AMMK, this emendation proposed by me, is not at all, unlikely, particularly as it fits in with what I have suggested earlier. It would seem that some one, at a later date, has corrected the name Harṣa to Hara, probably thinking that Viṣṇu and Hara go well together. AMMK, as pointed out by Jayswal, is, here following the imperial line only. As we have seen Viṣṇuvardhana was a real emperor. His son (as I suggest) Harṣa (vardhana) Vikramāditya was also an emperor. But Harṣa's son Pratāpasīla who, as we have seen, was, at first, defeated by his enemies and was then a feudatory of Pravarasena II, was not an emperor. Emperorship had, then passed on to Pravarasena II. And after Pravarasena II and his descendents, the emperorship passed on to the Kushanas, then to Rapāditya and his descendents and then to the Maukharis. All these kings from Pravarasena II to Rapāditya and his descendents (including the Kushanas), ruled over India from Kashmir or thereabouts. Therefore, after Harṣa Vikrama, till we come to the Maukharis, there was no emperor in India proper. That is why AMMK puts the Maukharis just after Harṣa or Harṣa Vikramāditya. If, then, the emendation proposed by me here (Harṣa for Hara) is acceptable, it furnishes a very definite and clear proof in support of my suggestion that Harṣa Vikrama was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, the great emperor of India.



CHAPTER FOUR

PRE-MAHĀBHĀRATA AYODHYĀ DYNASTY

HERE I shall reconstruct the pre-Mahābhārata Ayodhyā Dynasty as it stood in the days of the Mahābhārata war. My main object in so doing is to fix up the total number of steps from Manu Vaivasvata to the Solar kings who ruled at the time of Mahābhārata war.

I shall examine here the direct line from Vaivasvata Manu to Sākhya, Srutāyu and Brādhala taking all the kings one by one and making a comparative study of the relevant texts from all the available sources, except Mbh and Rāmāyaṇa.

For this purpose I have made out an exhaustive comparative table noting down the pedigrees of each king as given by various Purāṇas and other sources. My method of examining this dynasty is to scrutinise and discuss the chronological order of each of the kings of the dynasty.

But before I take up this study I have to make one point clear. My estimate of the antiquity of the various Purāṇic texts, so far as this dynasty is concerned, is somewhat different from that of Pargiter. I shall, therefore, first explain my view regarding it. On casting even a cursory glance at the Table we find that the Purāṇas fall within three groups—(1) those that stop at Srutāyu—they are *Mt*, *Pm*, *Ag*, *Km*, *Lg*, *Sr*, (2) those that stop at Brādhala—they are *Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh* and *Gd*, (3) those that stop at Sākhya—they are *Br*, and *Hr*. (*Br*'s last king should be Sākhya and not Anala or Nala as the comparison with *Hr* text shows. Moreover *Hr* text seems to come down to Brādhala, but it is evident that kings from Puṣya to Brādhala are purely later additions there.) *Sv*, *Bhd*, *Kl*, are not taken into account in this grouping.

But though apparently we get these three groups, there are really two original groups only. Dr. Pradhan has very successfully shown that those Purāṇas that come down to Brādhala wrongly append the king from Puṣya to Brādhala after Hiranyanābha. He

* (1) The sign = indicates the same name as is mentioned in column one under Vy. (2) Figures within brackets indicate the serial number of the king in that particular *Purāṇa*.

has shown that these kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala belong to Lava branch of Srāvastī Ikṣvakus and form a collateral branch to the main Kuśa line running upto Saṅkhana. For reasons to be discussed later, I take out the two or three kings usually put after Saṅkhana and before Puṣya in these lists (Vy: *Bd, Bg, Vn, Bh Gd*). I, therefore, suggest that all these Purāṇas originally stopped at Saṅkhana. Therefore there are only two original groups of Purāṇas those that stop at Srutāyu and those that stop at Saṅkhana. Really speaking all the Purāṇas stopped originally at the Mahābhārata war. Srutāyu and Bṛhadbala were killed in that war, therefore they must be at the same step from Manu. Saṅkhana too must have taken part in the war as his grandfather Uktha was still living at the time of the war. Thus all the lists originally stopped at the same step and they formed two original groups.

I shall call the first group the *Ag-Mt* group and the second group the *Br-Vy* group. After thus knowing that all the Purāṇas of the *Br-Vy* group originally formed one group, we can further sub-divide that group into two. These two sub-groups will have (1) Those that stop at Saṅkhana, they are *Br-Hr* sub-group, and (2) those that stop at Bṛhadbala, they are *Vy-Bd* sub-group.

Again, on examining the texts of all the Purāṇas we find that out of the *Ag-Mt* group, *Ag, Mt* and *Pm* have more or less the same version, but *Km* and *Lg* differ greatly. They go sometimes with the *Ag-Mt* group and sometimes with the *Vy-Bd* sub-group. About *Lg* we find that (1) it follows *Mt* upto Sambhuta, (2) then it follows *Vy-Bd* sub-group upto Ahinagu and (3) then it follows *Mt* upto Srutāyu. About *Km* we find that (1) it follows *Mt* upto Sambhuta, (2) then it follows *Vy-Bd* upto Rohita, (4) then it follows *Mt* upto Kalmāṣapāda, (4) then it follows *Vy-Bd* upto Ahinagu and (5) then it follows *Mt* upto Srutāyu.

Again the text-collations show that *Sr* (which really stops at Ahinagu though two more kings are given after him in the present text) goes with *Br-Hr* sub-group, *Bdh* goes with *Bg, Rgh* and *Kl* go with the *Vy-Bd* sub-group. *Sr* follows *Lg*. Thus we have the following groups:

Group I. *Ag-Mt* group comprising *Ag, Mt, Pm, Sr, Km, Lg*: but out of these *Km* and *Lg* and therefore *Sr* also sometimes follow this group and sometimes *Vy-Bd* sub-group. *Ag*-text is more akin to *Br-Hr* texts at many places, but on the whole it has greater

affinities with *Mt* and *Km*. In fact it seems to be the original of this group.

Group II: *Sub-group I*. *Br-Hr* sub-group having *Br*, *Hr*, *Sv*, and *Sub-group II*—*Vy-Bd* sub-group having *Vy*, *Bd*, *Vn*, *Bg*, *Bh*, *Gd*, *Bāh*, *Rgh*, *Kl*.

Out of these various groups, so far as the version of the Pre-Mahabharata Ayodhyā dynasty is concerned, I find that the *Br-Hr* *Sv* versions are most reliable, and it is natural. For, from another point of view it is possible to divide the *Purāṇas* into two broad groups of (1) those that give the Kali dynasties and (2) those that do not give the Kali dynasties. Out of these, those that do not give the Kali dynasties are more likely to be earlier. We find that *Br*, *Hr*, *Sv*, *Ag*, *Pm*, *Km* and *Lg* do not give the Kali dynasties, while *Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vu*, *Bh*, *Gd*, and *Mt*, give the Kali dynasties. But so far as the pre-*Mahābhārata* Solar dynasty is concerned *Mt* goes with the first group above, because in that *Purāṇa* the Kali dynasties are not dealt with in continuation of pre-Kali dynasties. For, in the *Mt* the pre-Kali dynasty stops at *Srutāyu* and the Kali dynasty starts with *Brādhala*. This discrepancy by itself, and also the fact that the dynasty upto *Srutāyu* is dealt with in the *Adhyāya* 11-12, and the Kali dynasties are dealt with in the *Adhyāyas* 271 ff, go to show that these dynasties are compiled by two different hands and at two different periods.

But even out of those *Purāṇas* that give the pre-Kali dynasties only, I have found that *Br*, *Hr-Sv* texts are the best and the earliest.

All this will show that in fixing the authenticity of a king or kings in these lists, we can take this as the general rule that a king who is attested by any two groups out of the above three groups (Group I and two sub-groups of Group II), may be taken as genuine, and a king who is supported by only one group may be taken as spurious. In what follows now, I shall take this as the general guiding rule, though exceptions are likely to occur.

Keeping all this in mind we shall now examine this dynasty in details. In so doing it will be convenient, if we divide the whole line into the following groups of kings: (as given in the first column of the Table).

- (1) From Manu to Trasadasyu
- (2) From Trasadasyu to Rohita
- (3) From Rohita to Vṛka
- (4) From Vṛka to Kalmāṣapāda
- (5) From Kalmāṣapāda to Rāma
- (6) From Rāma to the end.

(1) Let us consider the group from Manu to Trasadasyu. It will be seen that Trasadasyu's number is 22nd in all the *Purāṇas* except *Bh.*, *Km.*, *Pm.* and *Ag.* On examining these 21 or 22 kings we find the following noteworthy points:

(a) *Bh.* is alone in putting Ripuñjaya between Vikukṣi and Kakutstha; and as this insertion is not warranted by any other text, we can set it aside.¹ The mistake is likely to have arisen thus: Some *Purāṇas* give Parañjaya or Pur-ñjaya as an epithet of Kakutstha.² That epithet is here changed to Ripuñjaya and taken as a separate king-name.

(b) At the fifth step we meet with a difference in name. The *Ag.* group calls the king Suyodhana and the *Br.* group calls him Anenā. But the names are not material to my enquiry, which is chiefly concerned with the order and number of the kings.

(c) There are many variations of the names of the 7th and the 8th kings. Even the *Purāṇas* of the same group differ in their spellings. This is evidently caused by the scribes and we may adopt any name.

(d) Once again *Bh.* is alone in inserting Bhadrāsava between Ārdra and Yuvanāsava I. Bhadrāsava, therefore, is to be dropped.

(e) The name *Srāvasta* is variously spelt; but we know that the real spelling should be *Srāvasta*.

(f) Then there comes a real difference at the 14th step. Here the *Ag-Mt.* group (with *Ag.*'s exception) makes Pramoda the son of Dṛdhāsava and Haryāsava to be Pramoda's son. But in this, those that add Pramoda are wrong. Their mistake is caused by misunderstanding the original text, which is preserved in *Ag.* *Ag.* reads (273rd).

1. *Bhaviṣya* published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, which is the only printed edition of the *Purāṇa* available, is not a genuine *Purāṇa* and therefore generally no weight should be attached to its statements.

2. See particularly *Bhagavata* which is quite explicit on the point.

धुन्धुमागतायो भूया ददाशो दण्ड एव च ।

कपिलोऽथ ददाशस्तु हयश्च प्रमोदकः ॥ २२

हयश्चान्व निकुम्भो etc.

Evidently according to Ag. both Haryasva and Pramoda (ka) were the sons of Dr̥hāsya. But the other *Purāṇas* misunderstanding the text, have made out three kings where originally there were only two. Therefore Pramoda is to be dropped from the direct list.

(g) Apart from the variations in the names of some of the kings, we find that there is a sharp difference between the groups about Prasenajit. Ag-Mt group along with Gd, omits him and Br-Hr sub-group as also the Vy-Bd sub-group (minus Gd) retains him. As two out of the three groups retain him he is to be retained.

(h) Then from Yuvanaśva II to Trasadasyu all agree, except Gd which introduces Bindumahya between Mādhātā and Purukutsa. This insertion is solitary and unwarranted by all other *Purāṇas*¹ and therefore is to be taken out. The error seems to have arisen thus: Some *Purāṇas* mention Bindumati as the queen of Mādhātā. And this name is probably misread as Bindumahya and treated as a separate king.

Therefore we can safely say that Trasadasyu's real number is 22nd as almost all the *Purāṇas* agree.

(2) We shall now take up the second group of kings from Trasadasyu to Rohita. Here there is a great deal of divergence and following are the points to be considered:

(a) Sambluta is to be retained as he is found in all the three groups except in some *Purāṇas* belonging to the Vy-Bd sub-group.

(b) Pm is alone in putting Sambhūti as the son of Smbhūta and Ag and Hr alone in putting Sudhanvā as the son of Sambhūta. Both Sambhūti and Sudhanvā are therefore to be dropped. (Probably Sudhanvā and Tridhanvā were brothers.)

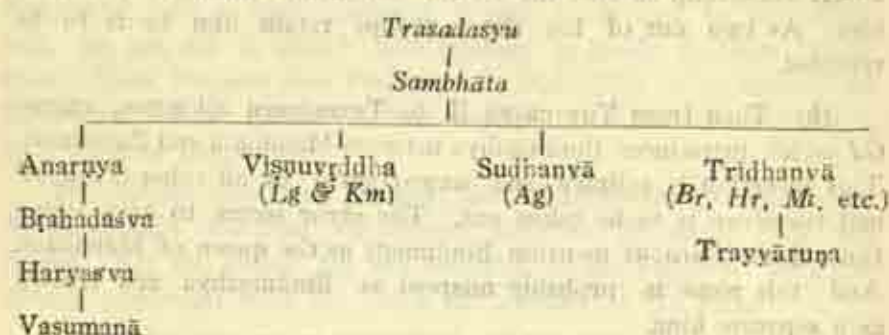
(c) Then we come to the group of four or five Kings—Viṣṇu-*vr̥ddha*, Anarāya, Trasadaśva, Haryasva, and Vasumanā (with variations like Prasadaśva, Br̥hadasva, Hasta and Sumanā). These

1 See *Brahma Hari* and *Bhagavata*.

are mentioned by the whole of the *Vy-Bd* sub-group and also by *Km* and *Lg* from the *Ag-Mt* group.

Out of these *Viṣṇuvṛddha* of *Km* is unwarranted as *Lg* is clear on the point *Lg* makes *Anarāya* and *Viṣṇuvṛddha* to be the sons of *Sambhūti* and *Km* has evidently turned the two brothers into father and son, as the *Purāṇas* often do. So *Viṣṇuvṛddha* is to be ruled out.

But regarding the other kings we find that the authorities are more or less equally divided. My own idea is that the *Vy* group is not justified in putting these kings here. I would reconstruct this part of the dynasty thus:



Thus so far as I can see, kings from *Anarāya* to *Vasumanā* formed a collateral branch but instead they are made lineal, just as *Km* has turned the two brothers into father and son. My main reason in omitting these kings from the direct line is this that though the authorities seem to be equally divided, in reality, both the *Br-Hr* sub-group and the *Ag-Mt* group omit them, for *Km* and *Lg* are not reliable generally, and particularly at this portion they have adopted *Vy-Bd* version.

(d) *Bg* is alone in omitting *Tridhanvā* and he is to be retained.

(e) *Satyarātha* is omitted by all except by *Mt*, *Pm* and *Ag* and, therefore he is dropped. *Br* and *Hr* give *Satyarāthā* as the name of the wife of *Satyavrata*, and that name is here changed into *Satyarātha* and made up into a separate king.

(f) Then upto *Rohita* there is no difference.

Therefore, the number of *Rohita* is 28.

(3) Let us now consider the third group of king from Rohita to Vṛka. Here the following points are to be considered:

(a) *Bg* is alone in putting Sudeva, and we find in other *Purāṇas*¹ that Vijaya and Sudeva were 'brothers. They are, as usual, here turned into father and son. Sudeva therefore is to be dropped.

(b) Kings from Harita to Ruruka are omitted by the *Ag-Mt* group and by *Sv*, and are retained by both the sub-groups. They are otherwise famous and known to us from other sources, and therefore are to be retained. The omission represents a real lacuna in the *Ag-Mt* texts.

Thus Vṛka's number is 33rd.

(4) The fourth group of kings is from Vṛka to Kalmāṣapāda. Texts here are fairly unanimous, but the following points are to be considered. From Vṛka to Bhagīratha there is no difference.

(a) *Vu* is alone in inserting Suhotra, and he is to be dropped.

(b) *Sruta* is omitted by the *Ag-Mt* group only and is retained by others. He is therefore to be retained.

(c) Ambariṣa is dropped by *Bg* and *Km*; but he is famous and all the other *Purāṇas* retain him. He is therefore to be retained.

(d) Sarvakāma and Sudāsa are dropped by the *Ag-Mt* group only. They are to be retained.

Thus Kalmāṣapāda's number is 48th.

(5) Then we have to consider the group of kings from Kalmāṣapāda to Rāma. Following are the points of consideration.

(a) Let us take the three kings after Kalmāṣapāda. *Vy* is alone in mentioning Urakāma and he is to be dropped. Then there is a set of three kings. *Vy*, *Bg*, *Vu*, *Gd*, *Bh*, *Lg* name them as Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Sataratha (with variations in names), while *Mt*, *Pm*, *Ag*, *Br*, *Hr*, and *Sv* name them as Sarvakarmā, Anarāya and Nigāna; but all are unanimous in giving these three steps here. Therefore there is no change in the total of number of kings. I would reconstruct this portion thus.

1. E. g. *Hr*. and *Vy*.

pointed out by Pargiter¹. He is omitted only by *Ag*, *Mt* and *Pm* and is mentioned by all others. But my idea is that though he is mentioned by so many *Puranas* as a separate king, he is really not a separate king. Ailavila so far as I can see, is an attribute of Dilipa Khaṭvāṅga. My reasons are these:

(1) *Mbh* mentions a king Dilipa Ailavila Khaṭvāṅga, where very clearly Ailavila is given as a metronymic adjective of Dilipa.²

(2) I think that the mistake has happened due to some misunderstanding of the text. Let us compare the texts from *Br* and *Hr*. in this connection.

Br अमित्रसुनी राजा विद्वान्दुलिहोऽभवत् ॥ ८,८४

दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामस्य प्रपितामहः ।

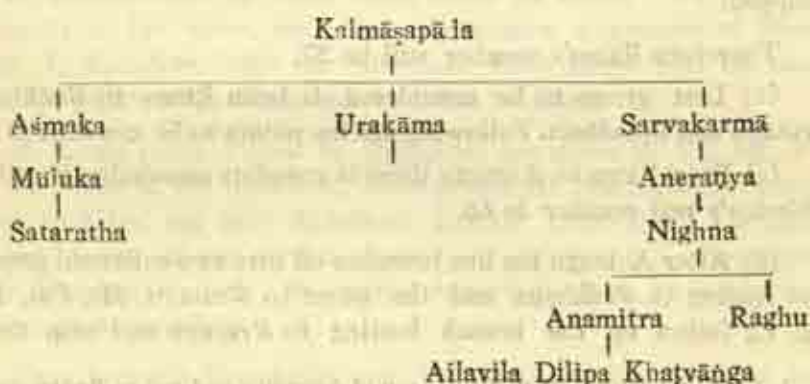
Hr अमित्रस्य धर्मात्मा विद्वान्दुलिहोऽभवत् :

दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामप्रपितामहः ॥ १५,३४

Here we find that *Br* text is evidently wrong. *Br* calls Dilipa to be Rāma's *prapitāmaha* but he is really Rāma's *praprapitāmaha* as *Hr* reads it. I also think that the change of 'anāmitrasya' (*Hr*) to 'amāmitrasuta' (*Br*) is not warranted. It is possible to reconstruct the *Hr* reading thus:

तस्य अमित्रस्य तनयः धर्मात्मा विद्वान् रामप्रपितामहः ऐलविलः (taking दुलिहो as scribe's error) दिलीपः अभवत् ॥

Thus Ailavila will become a metronymic adjective of Dilipa. I therefore, take the line to stand thus:



1. *Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 39, and 241.

2. See *Mbh*, VII, 55, 2170 to 70; XII, 29 910.1037.

Thus there will be four steps between Kalmāṣapāda and Ailavila Dilipa Khajyānga¹ II. It is probable therefore that Vy has added Urakāma and made four steps. It is thus significant that Ag, Mt and Pm omit Ailavila altogether.

Thus the number of Dilipa II will be 52nd.

(e) Ajaka is inserted between Dilipa and Dirghabāhu by Mt, but it is evidently a mistake as it is not supported by any other Purāṇa.

(f) Dirghabāhu is recognised as an independent king by almost all except by Br, Hr, Ag, Sr; and though both Pargiter and Pradhan are in favour of recognising him as an independent king, I think that he is really not a separate king. The mistake has arisen from the misreading of the Br and Hr texts, both of which make Dirghabāhu as an adjective of Raghu. The texts read thus:

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्ना सुतोऽभवत् । Br ८, ८५

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्व रघुर्नाम्नाऽभवत्सुतः ॥ Hr ५५, २५

अनरथं तु निघ्नोऽथ विलीपस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।

तस्य राज्ञो रघुर्नाम्ना तत्सुतोऽपि धर्मोऽभवत् ॥ Ag. २७३, ३२-३३.²

Moreover Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* omits him. Evidently Kālidāsa follows the y-Bd sub-group as he goes upto Agnivarṇa. He does not follow Br or Ag group and yet out of the Vy-group list he omits Dirghabāhu. That can mean only one thing that in the days of Kālidāsa, Vy-group had no Dirghabāhu as an independent king. He is therefore a later addition and therefore is to be dropped.

Therefore Rāma's number will be 57.

(6) Last group to be considered is from Rāma to Saṅkhaṇa, Srutāyu and Bhādbala. Following are the points to be considered:

(a) From Rāma to Ahinagu there is complete unanimity, therefore Ahinagu's real number is 66.

(b) After Ahinagu the line branches off into two collateral groups, one leading to Saṅkhaṇa and the other to Srutāyu. Mt, Pm, Km, Ag, Lg follow up the branch leading to Srutāyu and stop there.

1. I take this Dilipa II to be the son of Anamitra and not of Raghu on the evidence of Br, and Hr. Pradhan also has done the same thing. Later genealogy will be: Anamitra—Dilipa II—Raghu—Aja—Dasaratha—Rama.

2. It will be seen that Ag omits Dirghabāhu altogether.

Br follows up the line leading to Saṅkhya and its last king is not Anala but Saṅkhya as is proved by the *Hr* text. *Hr* also follows up the line leading upto Saṅkhya, but adds some stray kings: but this attempt is so half-hearted that it evidently betrays the hand of a later interpolator. *Gd* prematurely stops at Amara. *Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh* follow up the line leading to Saṅkhya and go even further. We shall, therefore, first examine the kings from Ahinagu to Saṅkhya and Srutāyu.

(c) There we find that Ruru, who is added by *Vn*, *Km* and *Bh* is unwarranted and therefore is to be dropped.

(d) Then the *Ag* group has six kings from Ahinagu to Srutāyu. Thus Srutāyu's number will be 72.

(3) Out of the others that come upto Saṅkhya, *Br*, *Hr*, and *Bh* have five kings after Ahinagu (Ruru being omitted) and others have six after Ahinagu. But Pradhan has reconstructed this portion, and *Br* version seems to be correct. Even *Rgh* testifies to this, there being only five kings after Ahinagu. Therefore Saṅkhya's number is 71.

(f) Pradhan has singled out the kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala as belonging to Lava branch and therefore as running collaterally with the kings from Kuśa to Saṅkhya. I shall discuss this point presently.

(g) But between Saṅkhya and Puṣya, we find two or three kings inserted by the *Vy* sub-group. They are Vyūṣitāsva, Viśvasaha and Hiranyanābha. Out of these three kings, *Bg* omits Viśvasaha and *Hr* omits all the three. *Hr* makes Vyūṣitāsva a synonym of Saṅkhya; I, therefore, take out all these three kings from the main line. Therefore after Saṅkhya we come to Puṣya.

(h) Kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala are given by *Vy*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh*. *Gd* stops in the middle at Amara and *Hr* interpolation comes down to Maru and puts Bṛhadbala directly after him. Therefore we shall leave *Gd* and *Hr* out of the consideration. All others agree upto Viśrutavān (only *Bh* omits Agnivarṇa, but he is too well known to be omitted).

Then between Viśrutavān and Bṛhadbala, *Vn* has one king and *Bg* has three kings. Therefore from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala, we have 11 or 12 or 14 kings. Now Pradhan has very ably and conclusively

proved that these kings run parallel to the kings from Kuśa to Śaṅkhya. Therefore if we follow upwards from Śaṅkhya, putting Bṛhadbala at the same step as Śaṅkhya we come (taking five kings after Ahinagu and not six) either to Nala or to Nabha or to Kuśa.

Any way, we should put Bṛhadbala along with Śaṅkhya and therefore his number will be 71.

Thus we find that all the sources, which give us the Pre-Mahābhārata Ayodhyā dynasty can be easily harmonised. At the time of the Mahābhārata war, we have kings of three Solar branches ruling, out of which Bṛhadbala and Śaṅkhya are given as 71st and Srutāyu as 72nd from Vaivasvata Manu.

Before closing I wish to clarify one point. Dr. Pradhan has (see his *CAI*, p. 145 ff) proved that kings from Kalmāṣapāla to Raghu were originally of Southern Kosala line and are interpolated in the main line at some late period. I think Dr. Pradhan is right in saying so. I also know that this whole dynasty is made up of several collateral branches. But I have shown them as linear because at the time of the Mahābhārata war this interpolation was already an accomplished fact and I am here concerned with the number of kings as was fixed in the days of Mahābhārata.



ERRATA

Page	Line	Correct	Page	Line	Correct
11	33	C. Mable	111	4	37, not 38
13	14	1598	112	24	1919
15	21	possess	114	3	2120
31	2	मनुजुगारव	"	5	2120
"	18	4089271428.4	"	6	201
"	23	302400000	"	10	201
"	30	4089271428.4	116	26	180
"	31	302400000	"	28	G I
36	29	341897102.9	120	17	813
37	9	2592.9	121	1	term not true
44	3	युगलवा	128	25	(5). not (4)
74	4	40 not 46	133	10	755
76	14	Kṣatraujāh at all places	"	29	755
83	1	1986	140	36	discussed for described
"	2	1986	144	5	1148 A. D., not: S E.
89	8	post-Nanda, not post-Mbh	149	—	Against Durlabhaka in column fifth read 511, not: 571
91	8	850, not 150	160	30	561 for 558
107	28	78, not 71	167	18	years of the
109	4	3201, 3101	"	last or	1723 or 2023
"	10	placed; 2348	174	9	2066
"	20	with G I	"	10	2066
"	23	G III			

194	36	41 for 40	255	13	shall have
196	20	year	"	24	really the son of
197	12	2051	"	34	omen etc.
200	7	40 for 242	269	7	one of the four
"	21	229-30 for 219-220	272	17	allowed them to rule
"	23	but <i>for</i> i. e.	"	18	inscription
201	35	124 for 194	"	27	older orthodox
207	36	years for kings	273	5	names
212	2	son of	277	20	inscriptions to
219	4	first king	"	22	history of
"	16	881 B. C.	279	13	Buddhism,
220	13	3001 B. C. as the	333	19	Pulga
		date of	323	20	or 3177 B. C.
233	17	Maurya, there	332	2	3076 B. C.
255	2	equate it with			

INDEX

Abhayamalla	224	Amitrajit	48
Abhinavabhārati	334	Amitrochades	246
Abhinavaguptācārya	334	Amlāṭa	89
Abhimanyu .. 37, 49, 50, 51, 53, 61, 62, 69, 70, 108		Anaṅgāpīḍa	147
Abhimanyu (Kashmir). 109, 110, 146, 148, 151, 155-7, 159, 164-5		Ananta	148
ABORI	56	Anamitra	348
Acala	73	Anarānya	346
Adhisīmākṛṣṇa	50-1, 62	Ancient India	133
Ādityaketu	206	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition	58, 60
Ādityasena	340	Ancient India as described by Herodotus and others	184
Age of the Mahābhārata War	7	Andhraka	100
Agnimitra	100	Āndhras. .. 4-6, 10, 11, 13, 58, 59, 65, 72, 85, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 101-2, 160, 165, 168, 172, 181	
Agni Purāṇa = Ag.	4, 24, 55	Āndhrabhṛtyas	6, 12, 91
Agrammes	244 ff.	Androcottus	245 ff.
Ahinagu	350 ff.	Anenā	344
Ahinara	50, 51	Aṅga	23
Aiḍaviḍa	348 ff.	Aniruddha	50
Aikṣvākus. 39, 46, 57, 58, 59, 80		Antigones	240
Ailas	57, 60	Antiochos	240
Aiyangar S. K.	133, 136, 271 ff.	Antardhāna	23
Aiyar V. Gopal	3, 14	Antarikṣa	48
Ajaka	77, 78, 98, 106	Añśuvarma	219, 223
Ajātaśatru.	75, 76, 78, 79, 83, 86, 98, 171, 240	Apāpāpurīkalpa	188
Ajita	340	Āpīlaka	101
Ajitāpīḍa	117-8, 126-9, 139, 141-3, 145, 147-8	Appian	243
Akṣa	146	Āpsava Manu	19
Al Beruni	200	Arctic Home in the Vedas	315
Alexander	240	Ādra	344
Alexander, the Great, 1-11, 16, 66, 93, 94, 233 ff.		Arīdeva	224
Āma	133-5	Ariṣṭapārṇi	101
Amarśa	351	Arjuna Kārtavīrya	60
Ambarīṣa	347	Arrian	1-3, 5, 17, 66,

	67, 83-5, 89, 233 ff.	Bauddhas	..	..	82
Āryabhaṭṭa I	.. 31, 54	Baudhāyana	..	..	266
Aśoka Maurya	.. 99, 151-3, 171-3, 177-8, 181, 240	Bāuka	..	..	137
Aśoka (Kashmir)	.. 109-112, 146, 151-4, 156	Belvalkar S. K.	..	..	124
Aśmaka..	.. 348	Bhacchaṭṭhaṇā	..	..	198
Aśmakas	.. 57, 60	Bhadrāśva	..	..	344
Aśmakuṭṭa	.. 333	Bhadraṇa	..	..	198 9
Aṣṭamahāśrīcaityastotra	.. 130	Bhagadatta	..	..	227
Aśvaghōṣa	.. 154	Bhagavaddatta Pt.	..	..	17
Aśvamedhadatta	.. 50, 61	Bhāgavatapurāṇa (Bg.)	..	4, 18, 19, 23, 24, 48-51, 55, 60, 62, 63, 73, 93, 97-102	
Aśvatthāmā	.. 53	Bhagavatisūtra	..	..	314
Atharvaveda	.. 315	Bhāgavata	..	..	100
Athenaios	.. 243	Bhagwanlal Indraji	..	..	215
Avantivarmā (Kashmir)	.. 141-2, 147	Bhagiratha	..	..	347
Avantivarmā (Maukhari)	.. 340	Bhānugupta	..	..	337
Āyutāyu	.. 97	Bhānuratha	..	..	48
Āyusmanta	.. 23	Bharadvāja	..	..	48
Bacchus	.. 1, 2, 3, 16	Bhāratakā Ādi Samrāt.	..	19, 25	
Bādara	.. 333	Bhāratiya Prācīna Lipimālā	..	71	
Bagchi P. C.	.. 130, 132, 205	Bhāratiya Jyotiśśāstra	..	315	
Baimbisāras	.. 77, 83, 86, 93	Bhartṛmenṭha	..	..	334
Baka	.. 146, 158-9, 165	Bhāskaradeva	..	..	223
Bāṇa	.. 128-9, 130	Bhāskaravarman	..	..	219 ff
Bāṇa (Asura)	.. 227, 230	Bhāvaprakāśa	..	..	334
Bandhupalita	.. 99	Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Bh.)	..	48, 49	
Baladeva	.. 223	Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (Bht.)	..	4-7, 67, 92, 97-102	
Bālāditya	.. 110, 147-9, 159, 160	Bhautya	..	..	22
Balamitra-Bhānumitra	.. 179, 180, 187-9, 191, 193, 195-7	Bhīmaddevavarman	..	..	222
Bālārjunadeva	.. 223	Bhīmagupta	..	..	148, 220
Balideva	.. 223	Bhikṣācāra	..	..	148
Bappabhaṭṭi (B)	.. 132-4, 137-8	Bhīmārjuna	..	..	223
Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita	.. 132	Bhīṣma	..	..	184
Bappai	.. 138	Bhūmaka	..	182-3, 195, 199	
Book of Eras	.. 131, 139	Bhūmī (k)	..	..	50
Bārhadrathas	.. 4, 6, 8, 10, 57, 66, 72-77, 83, 84, 86, 87, 93, 96, 97, 102	Bhūmī	..	..	226 ff.
		Bhūmimitra	..	..	100
		Bhūmivarman	..	..	219 ff, 222
		Bhūri	..	..	50

Bhuvanasinha	221	Cāmuṇḍarāja	306
Bhojadeva	223	Cāṇakya	78, 82, 298
Bhojas	58, 60	Caṇḍasena	259 ff.
Bindumati	345	Candraśrī	101
Bindumahya	345	Candraketudeva	223
Bindusāra	152, 177-8	Candravarmā	222
Bimbisāra	76, 78, 79, 83, 86, 98, 240	Candrāpīḍa	123, 127-9, 130, 145, 147-8, 214
Bodhamalla	206	Caṣṭana	182, 187, 198
Brahmā	31	Caṣṭanas	199, 200, 210, 222
Brāhmaṇa Dynasty	127	Caturmukha	201
Brahmadatta	80	Chach	127-8
Brahmadattas	58	Chacmāmāh	127-8
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Bḍ). ..	4, 11, 24, 43, 44, 45, 54, 58, 59, 73, 85, 97-102, 166	Chetaka = Cetaka	79
Brahmapurāṇa (Br.) ..	20, 22, 29, 31, 32, 35	Chandār	127
Brahmavaivartapurāṇa (Brv.) ..	21, 22, 23, 30, 31, 36	Chandragupta I	5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 93, 233 ff. 294 ff. 306
Bṛhadaśva	48	Chandragupta II	198, 305 ff.
Bṛhadaiśāna	48	Chandragupta Maurya ..	5-10, 13, 15, 87, 88, 94, 152, 171, 176-7, 212, 233 ff. 298
Bṛhadaiva	48	Chandragupta Maurya and His Times	87, 88
Bṛhadratha	50, 73, 99, 151	Chronology of India	11
Bṛhatsamhitā	107	Chronology of Ancient India ..	75, 76
Bṛhatkāma	97	Cippatajayāpīḍa	120, 123, 128, 139, 140, 142, 144-5, 147-8
Bṛhatkṣaya	48, 51, 52	Classical Sanskrit Literature ..	4, 6, 7, 71
Bṛhadbala	48, 49, 51, 65, 70, 234	Csoma	170
Bṛhannāradiyapurāṇa	30	Cunningham	131, 138-9, 289
Buddha	157, 169, 171-5, 177	Curtius	243 ff.
Caesar	18	Cyrus	182
Caesar Julius	18	Dadhivāhana	189
Caesar Augustus	18	Dāhar	127
Čakora	101	Dakṣa	18, 22, 23
Čakravarman	147	Dākṣāyaṇī	23
Čakṣus	19, 23, 25	Dāmaśrī	683-4
Čakṣuṣa Manu	23, 24	Dāmajdaśrī	183
Cambridge History of India ..	185-6, 278		

Dāmodara.	..	106, 108, 109,	Dravyavardhana	..	..	338
		110, 146, 154, 156	Dr̥ḥasena	..	..	97
Daṇḍapāṇi	..	.. 50	Dr̥dhāśva	..	..	344
Darius ..	181-2, 184-8, 192, 196		Duff C. Mabel	..	11, 12	
Darpaṇa	..	.. 179	Duliduha	..	..	348-9
Darśaka	..	76, 78, 86, 98	Durva	..	..	50
Daśaratha	..	.. 99	Durdamana	..	..	50
Dasgupta N. N.	..	.. 6	Durlabhavardhana	..	120, 128, 147-8	
Dasona..	..	.. 99	Durlabhaka	..	122-4, 127-9,	
Dayānanda Sarasvatī	..	206			147-8, 160-1, 165	
Deimachos	..	.. 250	Dynastic History of Northern			
Democles	..	.. 183	India ..	..	.. 131	
Demosthecles	..	.. 183	Dynasties of Kali Age.	62, 63, 73, 74,		
Dev ..	..	.. 3		77, 80, 84, 90		
Devadharmā	..	.. 99	Epigraphia Indica	..	..	306
Devabhūmi	..	.. 100	Eusebios Pamphili	..	..	300
Devāpi..	..	46, 80	Euthydemos	..	..	183
Devarāta	..	.. 184	Euripides	..	..	129
Diodorus	..	243 ff	Fa hein..	..	169, 171	
Dionysos	..	.. 2, 3	Fat' ein ..	..	130-2	
Diddā ..	139, 140, 143, 148		Fergusson	..	.. 3	
Dikṣit S. B.	..	.. 314	Firdausi	..	..	300
Dikshitar	..	.. 298	Gaddabha	..	..	179
Dillpa..	..	.. 348	Gaekwad	..	..	18
Dinika..	..	.. 182	Gali ..	..	..	221
Dipamālākalpa	..	201, 203	Gandhavvaya	..	..	190
Dipālikākalpa	..	.. 201	Gardabhillā	..	179, 180, 187-9,	
Dirghabāhu	..	.. 349			190-93, 195-99	
Divākara	..	48, 51, 62	Garga ..	..	.. 107	
Dharma..	..	.. 133	Gārgīsamhitā	..	.. 87	
Dharmadev	..	130, 222	Garuḍapurāṇa	..	22, 48, 49, 50, 51	
Dharmasūtras	..	.. 266	Gastī ..	..	.. 221	
Dharmapāla	..	134, 136, 138	Gāthāsāhasrī	..	.. 132	
Dharmi ..	..	.. 48	Gautamīputra	..	101, 180-1	
Dharmottarācārya	..	.. 125	Gauḍavaho	..	132-3, 136	
Dhārtarāṣṭras	..	58, 59	Gavām Ayanam	..	.. 314	
Dhṛtiman ..	..	.. 50	Ghaṭaka ..	..	226, 228.	
Dhruvasena	..	.. 193	Ghaṭotkaca	..	.. 271 ff.	
Dhruvāśva	..	.. 48	Ghosal Dr.	..	.. 132	
Dhruva K. H.	..	.. 23				
Dhurandhara	..	.. 205				

Ghsāmōtika	183	Harṣa of Kashmir ..	130-2, 148
Gighri	221	Harṣagupta	220
Godhara	199, 146	Harshadev	222
Gonanda I. 106-117, 119, 146, 151		Haryaśva	344
Gonanda II. 106, 108-10, 114-7, 119, 146, 151-2, 164-5		Hasan	106, 108, 112, 122, 161, 165
Gonanda III. 107, 110-119, 142-3, 145-6, 155-9, 163-4, 176		Havirdhan	23
Gondophernes	271	Helarāja	110
Gopāditya	146	Heliodorus	303
Gopāla II or III .. 131-2, 134, 136		Hemacandra	252 ff
Gopālavarmā	147	Hemādri	53, 54
Gotamas	205	Herodotus	17, 41, 184-6
Grahavarmā	138	Hieun Tsang	126, 128, 130, 137-8, 213, 296 ff
Guja	221	Himavanta Therāvali ..	301
Gunan	221	Hiraṇya	147-8
Guṇakarmadevavarman ..	222	Hiraṇyanābha	351
Guṇakāmadeva	222	Hiraṇyakula	146, 158
Guṇāḍhya	305	Hiraṇyākṣa	146, 158
Guptas 66, 72, 180, 197-9, 200, 202, 204, 289 ff		History of Persia	196
Guptabhṛtyas	205	History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature ..	170, 175
Haihayas	57, 59	History of Kanauj	138
Hāla	101	History of Herodotus ..	17
Haragaurisamvāda ..	205, 228-9	Humati	216, 221
Hari	50	Huṣka	109-115, 146, 151, 153-7
Harivaṁśa 4, 21, 22, 29, 31, 36			
Harivaṁśa (Jain). 190, 197, 204, 297		Ikṣavāka	33, 45, 46
Harivijaya	148	Indika	1, 2, 83
Harirāja	148	Indian Historical Quarterly. 6, 130, 132, 152, 205, 228	
Hariti	221	Indrapalita	11
Harivarman	222	Indian Culture	176
Haridattavarman	222	Indian Antiquary	215
Harīṣeṇa	276	Indrajit	146
Harita	347	Intafarnes	271
Harṇadeva	106, 108, 152	Invasion of India by Alexander. 243	
Harṣa Vikramāditya 119-22, 145, 147, 152, 161, 165, 202-5, 212		Isāna	340
Harṣa of Kanauj. 126, 128, 130, 137-8, 213		Isānavarma	340
		It-sing	123-4, 126

Jaṇ 127	Kakutstha 344
Jajja 127-8, 147-8	Kakavarma 222
Jalaukā .. 109, 146-8, 154, 156-7	Kakavarṇa 86-87, 98
Janaka 109, 146, 226 ff	Kālidasa and the Guptas .. 271
Janamejaya 50, 54, 62	Kalmāṣapāda 348
Janamejayas 58, 59	Kalyāṇavarmā 259 ff
Jarāsandha 4, 106, 151	Kālikā Purāṇa 225 ff
Jayswal K. P. 46, 75, 259 ff, 279 ff	Kālasaptaṭikā 201
Jayāpīḍa 119-20, 122-5, 127-30, 139, 142, 145, 147-8	Kālakācārya 179, 180, 182, 185-7, 191-5, 212-3
Jayāditya 123-4, 132, 165	Kalyanavijayji Muni. 176, 179, 188, 192, 200, 204, 301
Jayasiṇha 148	Kalyāṇavarmā 306 ff
Jayadāman 183, 186	Kalaśa 130-1
Jayadeva II 215, 222	Kālāsoka 88
Jayavarmā 222	Kaliṅgas 57, 60
Jayamatisiṇha 221	Kalki 55, 56, 78-82, 198-204, 231-9
Jayadevamalla 224	Kalki Purāṇa 21, 22, 55, 78, 79, 80-82
Jayakāmadev 222	Kalhaṇa (Kl) 7-9, 95, 105-12, 115-21, 125-7, 132-3, 135, 139, 141-3, 151, 152, 155, 160-3, 168, 172, 176, 202, 297
Jayendra 147-8	Kaliyugarājavṛttānta (KR). 7, 9-13, 90, 91
JBORS 40, 75	Kanaka 269
Jina 82	Kana 269
Jinaprabhasūri 132	Kaniṣka 109, 110, 112-5, 146, 151, 153-7, 162, 176, 213-4
Jinasenāsūri 135, 190	Kāṇvas 4, 6, 0-13, 89-93, 96, 100, 102, 158, 160, 166, 168
Jinasundarasūri 201, 203	Kapiṣṭhala 338
Jivadāmā 182	Kapadia H. R. 25
Jiṣṇugupta 219	Karkoṭa Dynasty. 104, 106, 110, 120
Jitedaṣṭi 216, 221	Karmānanda Swāmi. 19, 25
Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal .. 106	Kasikā 124
Journal of Sind Historical Society 127	Kāśis 58, 59
Journal of Indian History .. 141, 181, 306	Kāśeyas 57
Juṣka 109, 110, 112-5, 146, 151, 153-7	Kathāsaritsāgara 334
Justin 243 ff	Kaumudīmahotsava. 259, 261
Jyeṣṭhavarmā 222	
Kādambari 128-9	
Kadpheses 161, 165	
Kaland 294 ff	
Kaid 296	

Kaul (Pt.) Anand ..	111, 122	Lalitādityā ..	123, 132, 135,
Kauravas ..	.. 107	..	137, 139, 147-8
Kaviratha ..	.. 50	Lalitāpīḍa ..	.. 147-8
Kesu ..	.. 221	Lambodara ..	.. 101
Khagendra ..	109, 146	Lava ..	109, 146
Khatyāṅga ..	.. 348	Lévi, Prof. ..	.. 130
Khimva ..	.. 221	Licchavis ..	.. 79
Kie-je ..	.. 130	Liṅga Purāṇa ..	21, 22
Kinnara ..	.. 48	Lloyd Seton ..	.. 42
Kirtimanta ..	.. 23	Luk ..	.. 221
Kish Chronicle ..	.. 42		
Kṛityā ..	.. 162	Mahābhārata (Mbh.),	18, 44, 228
Kṛtavarma ..	.. 223	Mahābhāga ..	.. 48
Krishnamachariar ..	4, 5, 6, 71	Mahākosala ..	79, 80
Kṛtañjaya ..	.. 48	Mahāpadma ..	7, 9, 75, 83-92,
Kṛpācārya ..	.. 53	99, 166-7, 205, 210, 234	
Kṛṣṇa ..	.. 101	Mahānanda ..	75, 77, 83-89,
Kṛṣṇa ..	.. 50	171, 173, 179, 234	
Kṛṣṇa ..	8, 63-4, 68, 69, 184, 227	Mahāvanśa ..	83, 81, 88
Kṣamākalyāṇa ..	.. 201	Mahānandi ..	87, 98
Kṣatrapas ..	180-2, 184-6, 211	Mahābhāṣya ..	157, 164
Kṣaya ..	.. 48	Mahāvīra ..	176-8, 194
Kṣatraujāh ..	76, 78, 83, 86, 98	Mahendrāditya ..	.. 203
Kṣema ..	.. 97	Mahendrāditya ..	.. 334 ff
Kṣemaka ..	45, 47-56, 59,	Mahideva ..	.. 222
77-78, 80, 81, 95, 206, 208		Mahinetra ..	.. 97
Kṣemadhanvā ..	76, 78, 83, 86, 98	Mahumahana ..	.. 136
Kṣemagupta ..	.. 148	Mac Crindle J. W. ...	1, 243
Kṣitinandana ..	.. 146	Madhumathanavijaya ..	.. 136
Kṣudraka ..	.. 48	Magas ..	.. 240
Kṣulika ..	.. 48	Maithilas ..	57, 59
Kuberavarma ..	.. 222	Majmudar R. C. ..	.. 6
Kulaipa ..	.. 181	Mallakis ..	.. 79
Kumāragupta II ..	.. 296	Manaksha ..	.. 222
Kuṇāla ..	.. 99	Mānadeva ..	222, 224
Kuntala ..	.. 101	Mānadevavarmā ..	.. 222
Kurus ..	57, 59	Māndhātā ..	.. 345
Kushānas ..	161, 165	Manjusrīmūlakalpa (MMK).	268, 273 ff
Kuśa ..	109, 146	Maṇigupta ..	.. 220
Kuśalaśrī ..	.. 130	Mantalaka ..	.. 101
Kuvalayāpīḍa ..	.. 147-8	Manudeva ..	.. 48

Manu Sāvarṇi 23	Mṛgendra Svāti 101
Manu Vaivasvata .. 3-6, 13-15, 23-25, 32-35, 37, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51-3, 55, 56, 59, 61, 63, 65, 66, 69, 77, 94, 160, 233-4, 292	Mṛcchakaṭika 179
Manu Svāyambhuva. 233-4	Muktāpīḍa 123
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. 20, 21, 22, 26, 31, 44	Mukula 158
Maru 46, 80	Munshi 137
Marudeva 48	Mūlaka 344
Mātṛgupta .. 119-22, 143, 144-5, 147-9, 160-1	Murudaya 190
Matsya Purāṇa. 4, 12, 27, 31, 35, 43-46, 48-52, 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 72-74, 90, 97-102, 293	Murudha 190
Maukṣepa 48	Nabha 99
Mauryas 4, 6, 10-12, 89-90, 96, 99, 102, 116-7, 178-9, 189, 191, 196, 198, 205, 206	Nāgas 58
Mauryan Polity 298	Nāgārjunadeva 223
Max Müller .. 170-73, 405	Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā. 176, 179, 188, 192, 301
Mayūra 126-7	Nāgarjuna 154
Medhāvi 50	Nāgabhaṭṭa I 136-9
Megasthenes. 1-3, 5, 6, 15-18, 41, 66, 67, 94, 233 ff	Nāgabhaṭṭa II 133-8
Meghasvāti 101	Nāgāvaloka 133-35
Meghavarna 119	Nāga Dāsaka 83, 171
Meghavāhana .. 147-8	Nahapāna .. 180-2, 184, 187, 190, 195, 199
Menṭha.. .. 344 ff	Nahasena. 179, 187-9, 191, 197
Merutuṅga 189	Nakhakuṭṭa 333
Mihira Bhoja 136	Nala 343
Mihirakula. .. 146, 158-9, 297	Nāṭyaśāstra 334
Mīthradites 180	Nana 221
Mitradevaṇaka 183	Nandigupta 148
Mithradāma 183	Nandasāra 11, 99
Mitradeva 224	Nandins 87
Minos 19	Nandivardhana 80, 81, 86, 98
Mookerji R. K. .. 87, 277	Nanda 51
Mookerji D. N. .. 289, 306	Nandas. 4 6, 8-10, 12, 57, 72, 74, 85, 87-89, 91-93, 96, 99, 102, 158, 167, 178, 188-9, 191, 196, 205 ff
Moriyas.. .. 188	Nandadeva 224
Mṛdu 50	Nara 1
	Nara I 146
	Nara II.. .. 146
	Naramitra .. 50, 61, 97
	Nārāyaṇa 100
	Nāradya Purāṇa .. 20-22

Narakāśura ..	.. 225 ff	Paramagupta ..	.. 220
Naravāhana ..	189, 197-8	Pargiter ..	4-6, 9-13, 58, 58,
Narsih ..	.. 19		62, 63, 73, 76, 84, 90,
Narasinha Purāṇa ..	29, 31, 32, 35, 65		96-102, 269, 291, 292
Nārāyaṇa ..	.. 1	Parvagupta ..	.. 148
Narasiṃha Mehta ..	.. 54	Pārtha ..	.. 147
Narasinhadeva ..	.. 224	Pariplava ..	.. 50
Narendradeva ..	.. 223	Parikṣit ..	7, 9, 50-54, 62,
Narendrādityā ..	146, 147-8, 161		63, 68-71, 83-86, 92, 93, 106,
Narendradevavarma ..	.. 222		108, 151, 164, 166, 184, 291
Nemicakra ..	.. 50	Patil D. R. ..	.. 305
NIA ..	.. 78	Pativarma ..	.. 222
Nighna ..	.. 347	Pattika ..	.. 221
Nicaknu ..	.. 50	Paśuprekṣādeva ..	218, 222
Nicolas Damaskenos ..	.. 300	Patanjali ..	.. 157
Nīlamata Purāṇa ..	.. 110	Paumacaria ..	.. 25
Nimisha ..	.. 222	Paulisa ..	.. 312
Nirjitavarmā ..	.. 147	Pāvāpurīkalpa ..	.. 188
Nirukta ..	.. 312	Piyadasi ..	.. 273 ff
Nirvṛtti ..	.. 97	Pliny ..	.. 1, 2, 298
Nṛpacakṣu ..	.. 50	Plutarch ..	243 ff, 306
Nṛpañjaya ..	.. 50	Political History of Ancient India ..	75, 78, 83, 98, 179
Ojha G. H. ..	.. 71	Poona Orientalist ..	56, 75, 93
Padmadeva ..	.. 223	Porus ..	.. 243 ff
Padmacarita ..	.. 25	Prabhāvatiguptā ..	.. 264
Pag Sam Jon Zang ..	.. 131	Prabhākaravardhana ..	.. 138
Pahlavas ..	.. 181	Prabandhakośa ..	132, 135
Pāla Dynasty ..	134, 136	Prabhāvakacarit ..	132, 135, 137
Pālaka ..	.. 77-79, 98, 178-9,	Prabhācandrasūri ..	.. 132
	188-9, 190-1, 196, 198	Pracetasa ..	.. 18, 23
Pāñcālas ..	57, 58, 59	Prācinabarhiṣ ..	.. 23
Pāṇḍavas ..	101, 109	Pradyumnasūri ..	.. 132
Pandit R. S. ..	125, 147	Pradyota ..	75, 78, 83, 98, 179
Pandit S. P. ..	122, 134-5, 141	Pradhan S. N. ..	49, 56, 75, 76, 77, 81
Pañki ..	.. 340	Pradyotas ..	4, 6, 8, 10, 57, 74-77, 83,
Pañcasiddhāntikā ..	.. 339		84, 86, 87, 93, 96, 98, 102
Pancasama ..	.. 205	Pramoda ..	.. 344
Pattāvali ..	.. 132	Pratāpāditya ..	119-21, 142-4
Pavi ..	.. 221		147-8, 160, 165, 297
		Pratāpaśila ..	.. 212

Pratihāra Dynasty ..	..	133	Ramā ..	..	81, 225
Pratitāśva ..	..	48	Rāma Dāśarathi ..	..	215
Prativyuha ..	..	48, 61	Rāmagupta ..	..	294ff.
Prasenajit ..	..	48, 79, 80	Rapāditya ..	122, 142-4, 147-8,	
Prasadaśva ..	..	344		152, 161-3, 165, 172, 212	
Pravarasena II ..	120, 122, 144-5,		Raṣaṇjaya ..	..	48, 49
	147-8, 161, 163, 165, 212		Raṣarambhā ..	..	163
Pravarasena I. ..	119, 147-8		Rao Jagannath ..	..	3, 5, 7
Pravira ..	..	269	Rāsabha ..	..	190
Pravarasena I (Vākātaka) ..	..	269	Rasal ..	..	294ff.
Prithvivarma ..	..	222	Ratnākara (Pt.) ..	..	106, 141-2
Priyavrata ..	..	18, 22, 25	Ratnākara Purāṇa ..	..	106
Prthvyāpīḍa ..	..	147	Ratnasañcaya ..	..	193
Prthu ..	..	23	Ratisena ..	..	163
Ptolemy ..	..	198, 240	Rāvaṇa ..	..	81, 146, 225
Pulindaka ..	..	100	Ravivardhana ..	..	132
Pulisa ..	..	315ff	Rawlinson G. ..	..	17
Pulomā ..	..	90, 101	Raww'al ..	..	294ff.
Pulomās ..	..	57-59	Ray Dr. ..	..	131
Purañjaya ..	..	50	Raychowdhari H. C. ..	..	75
Purnotsaṅga ..	..	101	Revata ..	..	19, 24
Pūrvamihira ..	..	110	Ripu ..	..	23
Puru ..	..	23	Ripuñjaya ..	..	50, 51, 72, 73,
Purukutsa ..	..	344		76, 78, 86, 87, 97	
Pusamitta ..	188-9, 190-1, 195-6, 198		Rgveda ..	..	19
Pushka ..	..	221	Rtuparṇa ..	..	271
Puśya ..	..	349	Rohita ..	..	343
Puśyamitra Śuṅga ..	89, 100, 155-159,		Ruca ..	..	50
	164-5, 178-9, 203-4, 218		Rudra ..	..	200
Radda ..	..	148	Rudradāman ..	..	181-3, 187, 199
Raghu ..	..	157	Rudravāhana ..	..	199
Raghuyamśa ..	..	272	Rudradeva ..	..	224
Rāhula ..	..	48	Rudradevavarman ..	..	222
Rājapāla ..	..	206	Rudrasena ..	..	269
Rājatarāṅgiṇī. ..	7, 95, 105-108, 110,		Ruruka ..	..	344
	111, 115, 119-22, 124, 126-131,		Sāba ..	..	299
	133, 139-142, 145, 152, 155-6,		Śacinara ..	..	109, 146, 152
	202, 205, 218		Sadāśivadeva ..	..	222
Rājatarāṅgiṇīsārasaṅgraha ..	..	145	Saiśunāgas ..	..	4, 6, 8, 10, 11,
Rājaśekhara ..	..	132		56-59, 74, 75, 83, 84, 86,	

	87, 90, 93, 96, 98, 102, 166	Sarvakarmā	..	..	340
Sahadeva.	4, 5, 14, 48, 233, 238	Sarvavarmā	..	..	340
Sahasrānika	..	Śaśabindavas	..	..	58
Śakāditya	..	Śaśāṅka..	..	..	138
Śaktas	..	Śaśidhvaja	..	80, 82	
Śakra	..	Śatadhanu	..	..	99
Śakuni	..	Śatadhanva	..	..	99
Śālisuka	..	Sātakarṇi	..	..	101
Salhana..	..	Śatānika I	..	..	50
Śakrāditya	..	Śatānika II	..	..	50
Samayasundara	..	Satya	..	..	46
Sambhūta	..	Satyajit..	..	..	97
Samhitākāra	..	Satyaratha	..	..	343
Samid	..	Satyārthaprakāśa	..	..	206
Samprati	..	Satyavrata	..	..	343
Sammitra	..	Sāvarṇi	..	19, 22	
Samudragupta	..	Sāvarṇi Indra	..	..	22
	160, 268 ff.	Sāvarṇi Veda	..	..	22
	273 ff, 290 ff	Sāvarṇi Candra	..	..	22
Saṁvaraṇa Manu	..	Sāvarṇi Deva	..	..	22
Sanaīscara	..	Sāvarṇi Meru	..	..	22
Sandhimāli	..	Sāvarṇi Surya or Vaivasvata	..	..	22,
Sandrocoltus (-os)	..			24, 45, 53	
	2-5, 10, 160, 239 ff, 299 ff.	Śauddhodani	..	..	82
Saṅgrāmadeva	..	Schwanbeck	..	..	246
Saṅgrāmarāja	..	Seleueos Nicator	..	245 ff, 306	
Saṅgrāmāpiḍa	..	Senājīt	..	..62, 72, 73, 77, 97	
Saṅjaya..	..	Sextus Aurelius Victor	..	..	301
Saṅjñā (Tvāṣṭrī)	..	Shah	..	..	289
Saṅjñā Sāvarṇi	..	Shāhnāmāh	..	296, 300	
Saṅkarādeva	..	Shāṅkarācārya	..	..	219
Saṅkhaṇa	..	Shamashastry Dr.	..	3, 310 ff.	
Saṅkuka	..	Sharma	..	..	289
Saṅkaravarmā	..	Shastri Narayana T. S.	..	3, 5, 7-13	
Saṅkha..	..	Siddha	..	..	146
Sapaula..	..	Siddhārtha	..	..	48
Saptarṣis	..	Siddhasena Divākara	..	..	204
Śāradātanaya	..	Siddhivarma	..	..	222
Sarasvati	..	Śilāditya	..	130-1	
Sāris	..	Simuka	..	..	101
Śārngadharapaddhati	..	Śisunāga	..	36, 75-83,	
Sarvavarman	..				

	85, 88, 98, 237	Sundaravarman	..	.. 259 ff.
Sitā ..	.. 227	Sundaridevī	..	.. 137
Śivapurāṇa (Sv)	.. 21, 22	Śuṅgas,	4, 6, 10-12, 89-92, 96, 100,	
Śivaskanda	.. 101		102, 158, 160, 166-8	
Śivasrī ..	.. 101	Sunfitha..	..	.. 50
Śivasvātī	.. 101	Sunsa ..	..	.. 221
Śivavarma	.. 222	Sundara	..	.. 101
Śivavṛddivarman	.. 222	Sunetra..	..	.. 97
Śivaslesavarman	.. 222	Suparṇa	..	.. 48
Skanda Purāṇa	.. 316ff.	Supratīta	..	.. 48
Skandastambhi	.. 101	Surasena	..	.. 60
Skandasvātī	.. 101	Suraśenas	..	57, 60
Skandhara	.. 221	Suravarmā	..	.. 147
Skylax ..	.. 185	Surendra	..	109, 146
Śliṣṭi ..	.. 23	Śuśarmā	..	.. 100
Smith Vincent	.. 278	Suśāntā	..	.. 81
Solinus ..	.. 1, 2	Susshala	..	.. 148
Somādhi	.. 68, 72, 73, 76-78,	Suṣena ..	..	48, 50
	83, 86, 94, 97, 157, 235 ff	Susunāga	..	81, 171
Somavaṁśi Dynasty	.. 285	Sutapā ..	..	.. 50
Subhāṣitāvalī	.. 126	Sutirtha	..	.. 50
Sucala ..	.. 97	Suvarcā..	..	46, 47
Suci ..	.. 97	Suvarṇa	..	109, 146
Suciratha	.. 50	Suviśākha	..	.. 180
Sudās ..	.. 50	Suvrata..	..	.. 97
Śuddhodana	.. 48	Suyarma	..	.. 221
Sudhanvā	.. 341	Suyodhana	..	.. 343
Śūdraka	.. 129	Sravasta	..	.. 340
Sudās ..	.. 343	Sricchavillākara	..	.. 110
Sugandhā	.. 147	Śrīdāman	..	.. 184
Suhotra..	.. 342	Sṛtasravā	..	.. 97
Sukhibala	.. 50	Sruta ..	..	.. 341
Śukra ..	.. 339	Sṛtañjaya	..	.. 97
Sukṣatra	.. 74, 97	Srutaśramā	..	.. 73
Suleman Sodagar	.. 17, 41	Śrutāyu	..	.. 342
Sumana..	.. 342	Sten Konow	..	181, 183-4
Sumitra.	45, 47-56, 59, 61-62, 65,	Sthavirāvalī	..	.. 192
	70-72, 78, 80, 81, 95, 236 7	Sthavirāvalicarita	..	.. 252
Sumnu ..	.. 221	Sthunko	..	218, 221
Sunakṣatra	.. 48	Stien (Dr.)	..	122, 141, 147
Sunaya ..	.. 50			

Story of Kālakācārya ..	179	Uccala.. ..	148
Strabo	243, 299	Udayana	50
Svananta	221	Udayadevavarma ..	222
Svarociṣa	19, 24	Udāyi	75, 76, 78, 79, 83, 86
Svāti	101	Udyotanasūri	135
Svāti-varṇa	101	Ugrasena	88
Svāyambhuvavañśa. 3, 22-24, 26, 28		Unmattāvanti	147
Svayambhu Manu	19, 24, 25	Urakāma	344
Sykes P. M.	196	Urukṣaya	48
Systems of Sanskrit Grammar ..	124	Urva	50
		Uṣavadāta	181, 183, 186
Tathāgata Gupta	246	Usna	50
Tārāpīḍa	128-9, 147-8	Utkarṣa	148
Tarkalankara M.	206	Utpala	140
Tamas	19, 23, 24	Utpalākṣa	146, 158
Texts of Kali Dynasties	4, 10	Utpalāpīḍa	147
Tibetan Grammer	170	Uttama	19, 23, 24
Tigma	50	Uttānapāda	20, 24, 25
Tilak	14		
Tiloyasāra	201	Vāgiśa	338
Timi	50	Vahinara	50
Īrthakalpa	132	Vaidika Vāṇmaya Itibāsa ..	17
Tithogoli Painnaya	178, 188, 201, 203-4	Vairāja	22
		Vaivasvata Manu See Manu	
Tīvaradeva Mahāśīvagupta ..	285	Vaivasvata	
Thoko	221	Vaivasvata vañśa	3, 28
Thor	221	Vajrāditya	145, 147-8
Thunka.. ..	221	Vajramitra	100
Toramāṇa. 119, 121, 143-4, 165		Vākpati.. ..	133, 135-8
Trailokya Prajnapti. 190, 202		Valamba	221
Tribhuvana	147	Valivala	344
Tribhuvanāpīḍa	128, 145	Vāmadeva	223
Tridhanvā	340	Vāmana	124
Trinetra	97	Vanasphara	270-2
Tripāthi R. S.	138	Vārāha.. ..	225
Triveda (Dr.)	5, 141	Varāhamihira	107
Trasadasyu	343	Vardhamānadeva	223
Trasadasva	340	Varma	221
Tunjina	147, 149	Varshavarma	222
Tuśāṣpha	181	Varasiñha	221
Twin Rivers	42	Varṇaṭa.. ..	147

Vasantadeva	219	Vimala sūri	25
Vasantavarmā	222	Vinayāditya	162-3
Vasu	23	Vindapharna	271
Vasubandhu	154	Vindhyaśakti	268 ff
Vasudāna	50	Vīra	22
Vasudattavarma	222	Viradeva	223
Vasudeva	100	Vīramaha	206
Vasujyestha	100	Vīrasālasena	206
Vasukula	146, 158	Virāt	22
Vasumanā	343	Vīris	58
Vasumitra	100	Viśākhayūpa	56, 76-83, 98, 203
Vasumitta-Aggimitta	190	Viśamaśīla	336
Vasunanda	146	Viśārada	206
Vatsadroha	48	Viṣṇu	22, 49, 81, 225
Vatsapāla	48	Vishnudevavarma	222
Vatsarāja	135, 137	Viṣṇugopa	269
Vatsavyūha	48	Viṣṇugupta	220
Vayaspara	271	Viṣṇupurāṇa	4, 11, 12, 21, 22, 48, 50, 51, 62, 63, 73, 74, 93, 97-104, 293
Vāyu purāṇa (Vy)	4, 11, 12, 19, 27, 31, 36, 39, 43-45, 48-52, 55, 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 73, 74, 92, 166, 293	Viṣṇurāta	184
Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa	315	Viṣṇuvardhana	184, 202, 205
Vena	23	Viṣṇuvṛddha	341
Vibhīṣaṇa I	146	Viśravā	206
Vibhīṣaṇa II	146	Viśvadevavarmā	223
Vibhu	97	Viśvajit	97
Vicārasāraprakaraṇa	132	Viśvasaha	341
Vicārasreṇi	193, 195	Viśvasphaṇi	269 ff, 273 ff, 290 ff
Vicitraratha	50	Vivaksu	50
Vidafrana	271	Vivasvat	23
Vijaya	89	Vividhatīrthakalpa	188
Vijaya	101	Vītihotras	57, 60, 76, 77, 78, 86
Vijaya	147-8	Vrata	48, 49
Vijaya Dynasty	190	Vṛddhaśarmā	341
Vijayasīmha	148	Vṛka	341
Vikrama	188-9, 191-3	Vṛtti-sūtra	123-4
Vikramadeva	223	Vṛshadevavarma	219, 222
Vikramāditya	147-8, 202	Vṛṣṇiman	50
Vikukṣi	33	Vyāghrarāta	184
Vima	161	Vulcan	17
		Vyāsa	1

Vyāsa Pārāśarya ..	..	53	Yaśaskara ..	..	147
Vyasa Dvaipāyana ..	..	164	Yavanas ..	..	89
Vyuṣitāśa ..	..	343	Yima ..	..	19
Xandrames ..	10, 239 ff		Yomegha ..	..	100
Yajñaśrī ..	..	101	Ysāmotika ..	..	182-3
Yakṣagupta ..	..	220	Yuan Chang ..	..	123, 162
Yālambara ..	..	215 ff	Yudhiṣṭhira 8, 63-4, 66, 68-72, 74,		
Yama ..	..	23	75, 93, 107, 108, 151, 205, 294		
Yami ..	..	23	Yudhiṣṭhira Blind (Bly.),	110-113,	
Yaśa ..	..	203	115-8, 121-2, 142-146,		
Yaśodā ..	..	203	159, 161, 163, 165		
Yaśodharmā ..	136, 203		Yugas (The) ..	14, 34	
Yośorāta ..	..	184	Yugapurāṇa ..	89, 90	
Yaśovati 106, 108, 110, 113-5, 146			Yugapradhānapaṭṭavali	192-3	
Yaśovarmā ..	123-129		Yuvanāśva	344
			Zāmotika	182-3



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